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ABSTRACT

This is Part 1 of the first of three volumes presenting a structural description of Russian dialects. This book deals with the phonological patterns of the dialects and analyzes in detail the vocalic and consonantal systems, discussing distribution, environmental influences, prosodic features, and variations among the dialects. The description is based entirely on Russian dialect materials published in books, serials, articles, and other dialectological sources during this century. Maps illustrate the distribution of phonological phenomena. For Volumes II and III, see FL 002 759 and FL 002 760. (VM)

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Vol. I

A STRUCTURAL DESCRIPTION
of the
RUSSIAN DIALECTS

PART 1

PHONOLOGICAL PATTERNS

RUSSIAN DIALECT PROJECT
under the direction of
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Final Report
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Preface

This volume is Part 1 of A Structural Description of the Russian Dialects, which includes, in addition to the Phonological Patterns, an analysis of the Morphological Systems. Part 2 will provide an analysis of the Nominal Declensions, Verbal Systems, the Numerals and the Adjectives.

This description is based entirely on Russian dialect materials published in books, serials, articles and other dialectological sources during this century. It is a careful selection of data which were relevant for a structural interpretation of the dialects. It resembles in some respects those synthetic works of Russian dialectology which have been published in the Soviet Union since the appearance of the book of Avanesov. It differs from these studies in its more systematic approach to the data and in its attempt to give complete documentation of the quoted facts in the bibliographical references following each chapter. These references, however, require the use of the companion Vol. III, Bibliography of Russian Dialect Studies, which grew out of this project.

Vol. II is a Chrestomathy of Russian Dialect Texts with Glossary.

This project was made possible thanks to a grant from the Office of Education, awarded in 1967.

Various parts of this volume were written at various times, under my supervision, by Alan Davis, David Henderson, and Dr. Oldřich Leška (of Prague).

E. S.

The University of Chicago

August 1971

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A Survey of the History of Russian Dialectology

1. The XVIII and first half of the XIX centuries. In the earliest works dealing with the Russian dialects we already find attempts to classify them and to point out the major features which set them apart from the literary language. M. V. Lomonosov, in his Rossijskaja grammatika[1] distinguished three main dialects: Moscow, the North and the Ukraine. Since he himself had moved from Xolmogory, in the North, to Moscow, he was aware of the difference between the akanie of Moscow and the okanie of the North. Considering akanie as "more pleasant" than the Northern okanie, he was prepared to view it as part of the literary norm, but he also treated some Northern feautres as belonging to the literary language. He regarded Ukrainian as a Russian dialect (differing from the Moscow and "Pomor" dialects, the latter being his native Arxangel'sk dialect) because he was convinced that Ukrainian was still a live component of Russian. (It shcuild be remembered that the Moscow literary language contained many elements of the secularized Church Slavonic of the Kievan type.) Lomonosov and his contemporaries still used such value-laden terms as "pleasant," "crude," "apt," "awkward," or "in the spirit of the Russian language" to characterize the Russian dialects.

The debates of the eighteenth century which accompanied the formation of the literary language also fostered an interest in the dialects. The Russian Academy and the University of Moscow supported this interest and helped to put the study of dialects on a firmer basis. At that time, the principal interest in the study of dialects centered on the lexicon. The Slovar' akademii rossijskoj (1789-1794) represented a major achievement in this area, although the published version contained only a part of the material that was actually collected. During this period, the University was also organizing the collection of dialectal lexical material, which was published in the Turdy obščestva ljubitelej rossijskoj slovesnosti. In 1845, this example was followed by the Otdelenie jazyka i slovesnosti of the (reorganized) Academy of Sciences. Two years later, the Russkoe geografičeskoe obščestvo decided to incorporate

dialectal material into its ethnographic studies.

In his Pesni russkogo naroda (1838), I.P. Saxarov recognized a larger number of dialects (Moscow, Suzdal', Vladimir, Novgorod and Northern Arxangèl'sk, Siberia, and Zavolž'e) than had Lomonosov. In his Skazanija russkogo naroda (1841) he refined further the geographic classification. Thus he subdivided the Moscow dialect into: Moscow, Tula, Rjazan', Kaluga, Tver', and Vladimir sub-dialects. Although his efforts were not thoroughly systematic, they directed attention to a great variety of phonetic and morphological features, and indicated the need for more dialectological studies.

O narečijax russkogo jazyka[2] by Vladimir Dal' offers the first fairly exhaustive survey of all Russian dialects. Although Dal''s interest in the dialects was still from the vantage point of literary usage, he dwelt on the intrinsic and distinctive phonetic and morphological traits of the dialects, using all available information. Unlike earlier workers, he restricted himself only to Great Russian, pointing out the importance of such features as cokan'e, the variants of g, the various pronunciations of "jat' ", the syncretism of the dative and instrumental in the plural, and the loss of t in verbal desinences.[3] He also collected a large mass of dialectal words which he tried, in his nationalistic, romantic fervor, to impose on the literary language (in place of foreign elements). In the quest for genuinely native words, Dal' coined many neologisms. Dal' also was aware of the "need for general rules" for the classification of the dialects and of his inability to provide them.

The result of Dal''s extensive lexicographical labors was his monumental dictionary of Great Russian, the Tolkovyj slovar' živogo velikorusskogo jazyka (1863). The author's enthusiasm towards the Russian dialects is summed up in its introduction: "Our local dialects are the legitimate children of the Russian language and are formed more correctly, more faithfully, and more beautifully than our written dialect." The Introduction to the dictionary also contains a reprint of his "O narečijax ...".

2. The comparative-historical method in Russian dialectology. The second half of the nineteenth century was a period of widened interest in dialectology as a source for the reconstruction of the history of the Russian language. This historical interest coincides in Russia and in the West with the emergence of dialectology as one of the most vital branches of linguistics. The historical orientation was also responsible for the emergence of ethnography as a scientific discipline. The study of the dialects was, in fact, pursued in the second half of the nineteenth century both by historical linguists and by ethnographers.

The first noted representative of the comparative-historical method in Russia was F. I. Buslaev. His Istoričeskaja grammatika russkogo jazyka (1858) makes frequent reference to Russian dialects with the intent of revealing archaic features that had been lost in literary Russian.

I.I. Sreznevskij, noted for his philological and comparativist works, pursued the study of dialects not only in Russia, but also in other Slavic countries. In his Mysli ob istorii russkogo jazyka (1850) he outlines a broad program for the study of the Russian dialects that would include dialectal dictionaries, collections of texts, dialect geography, and a historical investigation of the formation of individual dialects. Together with A.X. Vostokov, Sreznevskij published a dialect dictionary which presented lexical material that had been collected (and partially published) by academic institutions.

A historical description of the Russian dialects was attempted by A.A. Potebnja in his O zvukovyx osobennostjax russkix narečij.[4] This work lists the basic features and principal linguistic divisions of East Slavic. In addition to Ukrainian, Russian and Belorussian, Potebnja distinguishes North and South Russian, with a transitional Central Russian zone, and sets up such further subdivisions as ëkanie of the Northern and Central type (n'osú vs. p'otúx) and the diverse South Russian developments of unaccented vowels after hard and soft consonants. Certain distinctions, such as jakanie vs. ikanie were, however, overlooked by Potebnja.

A disciple of Potebnja's, M.A. Kolosov, published three major works on Russian dialectology.[5] which offer a wealth of new data (especially from the Nor-

thern dialects) as well as some astute historical observations (e.g. on the interrelationship of the Vjatka dialects, on the relation between akanie and jakanie (vadá, b'arú) and between okanie and ękanie (vodá, b'orú). The work of Kołosov shows in many ways the close connection that existed at that time between dialectology and ethnography. There were very few purely dialectological works in that period. A major work emphasizing ethnography over dialectology was V.N. Dobrovol'skij's Smolenskij etnografičeskij sbornik, which contains a great number of dialect texts and a brief discussion of their features. Other ethnographic studies along these lines were A. Motovilova's Simbirskaja molv' . . . and P.A. Rovinskij's Zamečanija ob osobennostjax sibirskogo narečija i slovar' (1873).

Contributions from ethnographers to Russian dialectology continued until well into the twentieth century. Major collections of storiesand songs were published by V.G. Bogoraz[6] and M.A. Karaulov[7] with accompanying linguistic commentaries and glossaries. More recent works of this kind are N.P. Grinkova's and E.E. Blomkvist's Buxtarminskie staroobrjadcy (1930) and B.P. Ardentov's K Izučeniju zaonežskogo dialekta (1955).

Perhaps the foremost representative of the ethnographic method in dialectology was D.K. Zelenin,[8] who tried to interpret the progressive palatalization of velars (in such forms as [vǻn'k'a, čaik'ú]) in social terms, viz. in the migrations of the small gentry and their influence on the peasantry.

The most outstanding contributions to Russian dialectology from that period however, arose from the work of such outstanding Russian linguists as Sobolevskij, Šaxmatov, and Durnovo. A.I. Sobolevskij had been offering a course of lectures at the University of St. Petersburg on Russian dialectology, and presented this material in his Očerk russkoj dialektologii (1892). This book classified and synthesized all available dialectal material of that time. The classification is based primarily on phonetic data, and was, in fact, intended as a contribution to the history of the Russian language.

N.M. Karinskij, who was a student of Sobolevskij's, combined philological methods with the live study of dialects, and paid attention to the mixed character of dialects, a concept which was at variance with contemporary dogma of the linear

development of dialects. As a consequence, however, he lost sight of the unified character of dialect speech.

The principal goal within the comparative-historical method in dialectology was the reconstruction of the proto-language. This orientation is most clearly represented by the school of Fortunatov. E.F. Budde, a disciple of Fortunatov, used the study of dialects to support his ideas on prehistoric migrations, and along with a number of his contemporaries (such as Šaxmatov and Xalanskij) relied on ethnographic and dialectological data to draw conclusions about the history of the language. He was one of the first researchers to organize dialectological expeditions, and as the principal researcher for the description of the Southern dialects (under the aegis of the Otdelenie Russkogo jazyka i slovesnosti, headed by Šaxmatov), he accumulated new data from these dialects. His interest in comparing the contemporary dialects with historical documents led him to underestimate, and even to deny, the systematic character of dialects. Consequently he failed to notice some important dialectal innovations, e.g. the changes of unstressed vowels with respect to the stressed vowels in the Southern dialects.

The most outstanding linguist and dialectologist of the Fortunatov school was A.A. Šaxmatov. The main thrust of his investigations was toward the explanation of the historical development of the Russian language, and Šaxmatov utilized the contemporary state of the dialects as evidence in support of his historical hypotheses which written documents did not supply. In only a few works did Šaxmatov concentrate his attention on the contemporary state of Russian dialects, notably in his Zvukovye osobennosti el'ninskix i mosal'skix govorov (1896), which described one of the oldest, in his view, types of akanie (dissimilative) and in his Opisanie lekinskogo govora Egor'evskogo uezda rjazanskoj gubernii (1913), which attempts also a reconstruction of the Old Russian accents on the basis of the Leka distinction between tense and lax vowels (o̲ vs. o̲). Šaxmatov's observations uncovered thus important new phenomena which enriched both the study of dialects and the history of Russian. On the other hand, he never gave a full, systematic description of a dialect, despite his familiarity with the work of

the Kazan' school of linguistics.

Following in Šaxmatov's footsteps, a number of linguists re-examined existing dialectal material with the view of elucidating the history of the Russian language. For example, L.L. Vasil'ev studied the copious dialectological notes of a Kursk ethnographer made in the 1850s and discovered the so-called Obojan jakanie, a type of Southern pretonic vocalism.

Šaxmatov was also the main organizer of the 1896 program which was devoted to gathering dialectal information. Since its intent was to describe discrete dialect systems, it included comprehensive questions on phonetics, grammar, and lexicon. An effort was made to overcome the limitations of the "special features" approach to dialects. But the tradition proved difficult to surmount, and interest in rare "prehistoric" features colored the character of the questions. Detailed questionnaires were sent to persons in the various dialect areas, and the responses were published in IORJaS or SORJaS. Two major flaws affected the value of the programs: the questionnaires were too complex for non-linguists, and contained questions of secondary importance. Since the compilers themselves were not fully aware of the facts occurring in particular dialects, they posited the existence of some phenomena which did not occur, and added to the confusion of the respondents. This situation was rectified to some extent when a shorter, more realistic version of the program was published in 1903.

It was around the turn of the century that some linguists began to turn away from the search for archaic historical features toward a more comprehensive understanding of dialects. In addition, the phonetic descriptions became more precise (particularly in the works of V.A. Bogorodickij and D.V. Bubrix)[9] and greater attention was paid to morphological data. The following studies are worthy of special mention:

O. Brok, Opisanie odnogo govora iz jugozapadnoj časti Totemskogo uezda (1907) and Govory k zapadu ot Mosal'ska (1916). N. Durnovo's Opisanie govora der. Parf'enki, Ruzskogo uezda Moskovskoj gubernii was the best description of a single dialect of that time. Although the work broke new ground in several areas, it was criticized sharply by historically-oriented linguists (e.g. Vasil'ev).

I.T. Smirnov published Kašinskij govor (1904) which he characterized as "a systematic description of the dialects of the inhabitants of the city of Kašin and its uezd." A disciple of Baoudin de Courtenay, V.A. Bogorodickij, treated the study of dialects not as a repository of older layers of a language, but as a multi-level system containing "embryonic" features pointing to future changes. His major work is a phonetic description of the dialect of Belaja, published at various times in different journals. In his Kurs grammatiki russkogo jazyka (1887), Bogorodickij was the first to describe from a phonological point of view the unstressed vocalism of various dialects.

In 1901 a group of F.F. Fortunatov's disciples (N.N. Durnovo, N.N. Sokolov, and D.N. Ušakov) founded the Kružok po izučeniju istorii i dialektologii russkogo jazyka. Two years later, under the direction of Šaxmatov, and having changed its name to Moskovskaja dialektologičeskaja komissija (MDK), it became the leading ogganization for dialectal research. The Trudy MDK was published in eleven volumes between 1908 and 1931 and contained the questionnaires, the responses, and analyses of the data. The contributors were concerned with the thoroughness of dialect descriptions and with the question of dialect boundaries. A major synthetic work, the Opyt dialektologičeskoj karty russkogo jazyka v Evrope by the three founders of the commission, was also published in the Trudy, and became the foundation of the modern classification of the Russian dialects.

In the sixth and seventh volumes of the Trudy (1917-18), Durnovo published his Dialektologičeskie razyskanija, parts 1 and 2. Part 1 gives a precise classification of the Southern dialects (in terms of the types of jakanie), and a discussion of the formation of the transitional dialects and the devlopment of types of pretonic vocalism.

After the October Revolution, the activities of the MDK slowed down considerably, and there was a major change in its membership. Several important works were published in the twenties, however. For example, Durnovo's Vvedenie v istoriju russkogo jazyka part I (1927), gives the clearest classification of the Russian dialects (in terms of phonetics and morphology) until the appearance of Avanesov's

1965 book. S.A. Eremin's Opisanie ulomskogo i vaučskogo govorov Čerepoveckogo uezda novgorodskoj gubernii (1923) was styled on Brok's monographs, and S.P Obnorskij's Imennoe sklonenie (1927, 1931) was the fullest description of that aspect of dialect morphology (although the author's chief interest was the history of the literary language). Other, somewhat less significant works of that time were Ju. V. Petrovskaja's K dialektologii rjazanskix govor, Govor sela Matur zarajskogo uezda (1922), P.A. Rastorguev's Severskо-bekorusskij govor (1927) and A.M. Seliščev's Dialektologičeskij očerk Sibiri (1927). An important feature of these works was their attention to the geographic distribution of dialectal phenomena (typical of this interest is also the article by I.G. Golanov, Neskol'ko dannyx k voprosu o geografičeskom rasprostranenii dissimiljativnogo akan'ja (1928)).

The Marrist school. Dialectal research came to a halt with the dissolution of the MDK (which in 1927 had changed its name to Postojanna komissija po dialektologii russkogo jazyka). The adherents of Marr, who became dominant in Soviet linguistics, viewed language change as a result of mixing (skrešč̌enie) of languages or dialects, and tried to emphasize the social aspect of language, which they believed to find most clearly reflected in the study of the vocabulary. The various editions of their questionnaire reflect this lexicographical bias. Typical of the Marrist approach are the works of Karinskij, Filin, and Grinkova. N.M. Karinskij's Očerki jazyka russkix krest'jan; govor derevni Vanilovo (1936) is primarily a description of words borrowed from literary Russian. Assuming that language exhibits first of all class differences, and that dialect change depends directly on the influence of urban speech, Karinskij draws far-reaching, fanciful conclusions in support of the new dogma. F.T. Filin's Issledovanie o leksike russkix govorov (1936) described agricultural terminology of various dialects, making many arbitrary conjectures about their origin. N.P. Grinkova, who, at the beginning of her career, had published some very useful studies of particular dialects, became later the

representative Marrist dialectologist and devoted her work to demonstrating the social process of levelling of rural and urban speech.

Contemporary Soviet dialectology. Towards the end of the Marrist period there appeared some studies which did not treat the dialects as a class phenomenon. Principal among these were a few general works which were marked by a new methodology as well as richness of data. The most important among these was R.I. Avanesov's Očerki russkoj dialektologii, I, (1949). The basic method of the Očerki is synchronic and structural, though it reflects the basically morphophonemic approach to phonology characteristic of the so-called Moscow school (of which Avanesov himself is one of the principal proponents). The first part of the book, the phonology, could be viewed as a milestone in Russian dialectology, and it remains the best over-all survey of the phonology of the Russian dialects. It is a synthesis of existing information on the sound systems of Russian dialects and the phonological treatment is the most useful of the book. Its shortcomings are the lack of thorough documentation of the territorial distribution of linguistic phenomena, and the lack of a morphological section that was supposed to constitute vol. II of the book. Avanesov presents the consonantism and the stressed vocalism mainly in terms of inventories, and the unaccented vocalism in terms of automatic morphophonemic alternations.

New work on Russian dialectology was resumed only after the liquidation of the Marrist school. Vigorous scholarly activity in this field was undertaken to compensate for the scholarly aridity of the Marrist era. The most outstanding achievement in the field of Russian dialectology is, no doubt, the Atlas russkix narodnyx govorov, published by AN SSSR (1957). The Atlas is a work of unprecedented scope and is unique in many ways. In spite of the oppressive Marrist atmosphere, field work on the Atlas had actually begun, under the direction of Avanesov, between 1946 and 1950. 965 geographical areas (called "points") were covered, and all but twenty-seven of the prepared reports on those areas were actually used. In general, the data collected on phonology was much more reliable than that on the morphology or the lexicon. Nevertheless, the Atlas provides

a great deal more information than comparable atlases published in the West.

The phonological questions pay due attention to phonetic variants, but they ignore some questions of distribution, as, for example, the pretonic vocalism after soft consonants. The selection of geographical points for commentary is at times likewise haphazard (e.g. Kolesnikovo [Rjazan'] is the only point noted for assimilative jakanie). Questions of stress are almost completely ignored, and even the new program failed to differentiate the lexical, paradigmatic, and syntactic functions of stress. In spite of these shortcomings, the Atlas is one of the major contributions to Russian dialectology. Even though the remaining volumes were never published, the materials collected for them have been the basis for a number of important studies that were published in the following years.

In 1962 there appeared the Voprosy teorii lingvističeskoj geografii, under the editorship of Avanesov. This book propounds a structural approach to dialectology on all levels of language. A more recent synthesis of the Russian dialects in structural terms is the collective work of nine authors under the editorship of R.I. Avanesov and V.G. Orlova, entitled Russkaja dialektologija (1964). This book incorporates the findings of the Atlas and the research of the intervening fifteen years, and deals with the phonological and morphological patterns of the dialects. It offers, in fact, the first systematic survey of dialect morphology. A shortcoming of the book is its excessive schematism, and abstract theorizing on non-fulfilled phonological possibilities. It is also poor in examples and geographical documentation. The second part of the book gives a survey of territorial features, but in this respect it does not advance beyond the older treatments. Extremely useful are its numerous maps.

The most recent work which covers both phonology and morphology and combines, albeit somewhat unsystematically, a synchronic and diachronic approach, is Obrazovanie severnorusskogo narečija i srednerusskix govorov (1970). Despite the title, nearly a third of the book is devoted to the central dialects. It surpasses other general works in its thorough coverage of previously undescribed dialects, and in its clear presentation of phonological phenomena. It contains the largest number of maps (120) ever published in one volume, many of which

cover the South as well. A historical excursus, emphasizing the relative chronology of phonological changes, accompanies each major section.

In the late 50's and 60's a number of published works were devoted either to specific phonological problems or to particular areas of investigation. V G. Orlova's Istorija affrikat v russkom jazyke v svjazi s obrazovaniem russkix narodnyx govorov (1959), is a phonological and historical study of the affricates in the dialects, containing a wealth of information. A synchronic monographic work which deals with the dialect of Murmansk is the two-volume study by I.S. Merkur'ev entitled Murmanskij govor. The first volume is devoted to vocalism, and the second to consonantism.

The Očerki po fonetike severnorusskix govorov (1967), (under the editorship of L.L. Kasatkin, O.N. Moraxovskaja, and T.G. Stroganova) covers a wide range of problems in North Russian phonology. A detailed study (utilizing quantitative methods) is Kasatkin's Progressivnoe assimiljativnoe smjagčenie zadnenebnyx soglasnyx v russkix govorax (1969). An even more detailed phonetic investigation of various dialects is the Eksperimental'no foneticeskoe izučenie russkix govorov (1969), by S.S. Vysotskij, A.M. Kuznecov, and R F Paufošima.

In addition to the books mentioned above, there appeared a number of new journals and collections devoted explicitly to dialectology. Materialy i issledovanija po russkoj dialektologii (1949) is a three-volume work (published by the Institut russkogo jazyka) which contains many excellent structurally oriented articles. Worthy of special mention is the article by Avanesov, Očerki dialektologii rjazanskoj mešcery, which analyzes the unstressed vowels with relation to the stressed syllable, and the consonants by their distinctive features. A fairly detailed analysis of the nominal and verbal inflections is followed by an analysis of the comparative, the numerals and pronouns. Between 1947 and 1949 another series of periodicals was published under the title Bjuleten' dialektologičeskogo sektora instituta russkogo jazyka, consisting principally of brief articles on methodology, theory, announce-

ments of dialectological expeditions, and notes on the morphology and phonology of various dialects. Volume VII of the Trudy instituta jazykoznanija (1957) also contains a number of useful and thorough studies.

The second series of the Materialy i issledovanija po russkoj dialektologii appeared between 1959 and 1961. It differs from the first collection in that it does not contain any specific descriptions of dialects, but treats various phonetic and morphological problems.

Work is now in progress for the publication of a complete dictionary of the Russian dialects (Slovar' russkix narodnyx govorov), of which six volumes (A-G) have appeared to date. When complete, it will undoubtedly be the chief reference to dialect vocabulary. More recently (1970) there appeared a dictionary covering the dialect of Deulino (Rjazan'). It is an extremely thorough and well-documented work with a good deal of grammatical information on various entries.

II. The Vocalic Systems

The principal distinction in the vowel system of modern literary Russian is that between stressed and unstressed vowels which differ in (1) the number of phonemes (four or three unstressed as opposed to five stressed vowels), (2) the use of distinctive features (e.g. the absence of unstressed mid vowels), and (3) different distributional constraints in various positions. This distinction holds even more strongly in the dialects, which diverge most conspicuously from the literary language and from each other in their vowel systems. It is for this reason that the traditional Russian classification of the dialects has been based on the differences of vocalism, especially their unstressed vocalism (e.g. the dialectal distinctions known as okan'e vs. akan'e or the various types of akan'e).

The vowel systems of the dialects differ from that of the literary language both in their number of stressed and unstressed vowels, for they admit in addition to five, systems with six or seven vowels which employ the additional distinctive feature of tenseness (in ô and/or ê) or flatness (in a or y), and from three to five unstressed vowels.

The dialects differ from each other and the literary language, however, most clearly in their distributional rules, and earlier investigators based their classification mostly on this difference. The stressed vowels of literary Russian are minimally affected by consonantal environemnts: all five stressed vowels are admitted in any position (v. word-initial é, é after hard consonants in loanwords and abbreviations, ó between soft consonants, e.g. éta, éra, sonét, šosé, t'ót'a. Unstressed /i/ and /u/ may occur in any environment in the literary language, but unstressed /a/ after soft consonants is admitted only at morpheme boundaries, e.g. vól'a, pól'a vs. na vól'i, f pól'i. The distributional restrictions on unstressed vowels are in some dialects very conplex, while other dialects impose distributional restrictions on the occurrence of stressed vowels other than /í, ú/, as well.

Of the stressed vowels, tense /ê/ and /ô/ are subject to the maximal restrictions. Environmental restrictions are more pronounced in the case of the unstressed vowels, for their occurrence may be conditioned not only by the preceding or following consonant, but also by their position relative

to the stressed syllable of the word. In this respect the Southern dialects show the greatest variation, which accounts for their extreme typological differentiation relative to the Northern dialects (e.g. the Southern dialects are particularly subject to various kinds of assimilation and dissimilation in pretonic syllables); in the North the unstressed vowels show far less neutralization both paradigmatically and syntagmatically (in terms of environmental restrictions). Thus, both northern and southern dialects may have seven, six or five stressed vowel phonemes, and northern dialects with few exceptions have five or four vowels in pretonic position, while southern dialects may have only four, or more typically, three in this position. These limitations on the occurrence of unstressed vowels constitute an important criterion in distinguishing the northern and southern vocalic systems.

Note.

All dialects restrict the occurrence of /e/ after hard consonants. It is not found regularly and systematically in any dial ect (for sporadic examples of Ce see the chapter on palatalized consonants). There is one special case where this sequence does occur in some dialects. In dialects with sokan'e etymological ę is represented by hard /s/. Normally the generalization of /s/ for /c/ does not affect the following vowel, so a new combination /se/ is now possible, hence sér'kva (cerkov'), sen'á, f s'érse. The anomaly of /e/ after a single hard consonant is marginal to the entire phonemic system. If the new /s/ were identified with s in its original environments we would expect either s'ená or soná instead of sená (the form solovát', which is attested, reflects the original vocalism of colovát'; cf. s'érso from s'érco). Soft /s'/ does occur in some dialects, but this can be a reflex of soft /c'/ rather than an assimilation of new se to older s'e. The functional load of /se/ vs. /so/ and /sa/ is not great; note that the only words with /c/ which are fairly numerous in literary Russian have the suffixes -#c- and -ic-, e.g. licó, otéc, sestríca. Most dialects with sokan'e are of the first type; in the classification of vowel patterns we shall not regard them as a separate group.

1. Stressed Vocalism

1.1 Inventories of Stressed Vowels.

The systems of stressed vowels of the dialects differ both quantitatively (according to the number of phonemes) and qualitatively (in terms of their distinctive features).[1] The systems of all known dialects comprise seven, six or five stressed vowel phonemes. The distinctive features of the five-vowel systems are the same as those of literary Russian, while the seven and six-vowel systems (with two exceptions;see types 4 and 5 below) include the additional feature of tenseness in the vowels ê and ô.[2] Since the vowels /i, u/ and /a/ are common to all Russian vowel systems, the principal difference between the dialects lies in the presence or absence of the opposition tense : lax in the mid vowels, as well as in the distributional restrictions on the occurrence of various vowels other than /i, u/.

The opposition grave (back) : acute (front) is redundant in all but one dialect, as in literary Russian, since the unrounded(plain) vowels may have back (flat) variants and vice versa, so the opposition between /i, e, ê/ and /u, o, ô/ is that between plain and flat, respectively.

1.11 Seven-Vowel System

The maximal, seven-vowel system comprises the following distinctive features

	Plain	Flat
Diffuse	i	u
Tense	ê	ô
Lax	e	o
Compact	a	

The phonetic implementation of the tense vowels varies considerably between dialects, and even in the same dialect, depending on such factors as differences in generation or sex of the speaker, speech tempo and rhythm. Simple vowels [ê, ô] are less common than a diphthongal pronunciation [i͡ê, u͡ô] or, more rarely, [ê͡i, ô͡u], particularly in the South, and the simple vowels are almost always in free variation with diphthongs.[3] The common Russian phonetic notations [i͡e, u͡o] may represent either glide + vowel [i̯é, u̯ó] or vowel + glide [íe̯, úo̯];

In central and southern dialects where /ê, ô/ represent diphthongs, it is quite usual to find a corresponding diphthongization of /e, o/ as [e͡i, o͡u], e.g. [p'e͡irvaj, n'e͡iby1, at'e͡ic, sko͡ura, go͡ut, do͡uruga].

The phonetic realization of /ê/ in particular varies greatly, admitting even the substitution of /i/ or /e/, although the latter is often due to literary influence. Consider, for example, the variants of /ê/ recorded in a single village in western Rjazan'[7]: xl'éba, izd'élaju, s'éna, l'étam, n'ét; xl'êba, d'êlat', s'ênu, čilav'êk, jêš; sl'iep, d'ielat', s'iena, s'ieraj, l'ietas', n'ietu; s xl'íbam, zd'ílat', s'íraj, c'ilav'ík, jíš.

In a Vladimir dialect[8] /ê/ is often replaced by /i/ in allegro speech; in slower speech it is usually a falling diphthong [íe], more rarely rising [ié]: r'íečka, b'íelaj s'v'íet, čelav'íek and r'iék'i, ciélaja, but also xat'íl, d'ílat', pajíd'it, z'b'ígaju.

Many dialects which have had oppositions of /ó/ : /ô/ and /é/ : /ê/ within recent history have either lost them or are in the process of losing them (i.e., the systems are unstable). An example of this phenomenon is the system of Pustoša, r. Šatura, Moskva. A description of this dialect published in 1913 mentions seven vowels, whereas a 1957 study mentions only six, with ê being so restricted in its occurrence that its phonemic status is highly questionable.[9] Another such example, from Zemljansk and Zadonsk uezdy in the deep South (now in Voronež and Lipeck obl., respectively), can be found by comparing the data of V. I. Trostjanskij, collected at the turn of the century, with the data of N. P. Grinkova from the same area a generation later.[10] The instability of systems with distinctively tense vowels is further shown by the fact that in no dialect are the tense vowels found in every word where they are etymologically justified and in many dialects they appear in loanwords from foreign languages or literary Russian. The Atlas, for example, quotes forms such as lênta, fêrma, interêsno, kôntra, kolxôz, môda, pal'tô, and morphological analogies like rôž, dôma, fs'ô, zeml'ôj.[11]

In a seven-vowel system /ê/ and /ô/ may occur in the same environment. The phonemic contrast between /o/ and /ô/ was established with the introduction of /ô/ in grammatical endings after palatal or palatalized consonants, e.g. b'ei'jô, z'eml'ôj, mojôj, fs'ôj, xorošô vs. oknô, ženôj, drugôj,

davnô, and t'ôploj, čaščôba vs. xolôdnoj, zlôba.

A typical seven-vowel system is that of d. Leka, east of Moscow.[12] In this dialect /ô/ occurs quite regularly after hard consonants, but after soft consonants and palatals only at morpheme boundaries before certain nonverbal desinences, e.g. dušôj, čužôj, (Fem.), xarašô, jejcô, f čôm, fs'ôj; cf. however pl'ecó, kril'có, z'eml'ój, sin'jóf like id'ót, n'es'óm. Other examples of the tense and lax vowels are

môk, stôl, vôl'a, nôška, visôk, marôs, ladôn', atcôf, dnô,
tônut, prôs'it vs. bók, pól, pól'a, lóška, vastók, kalxós, agón',
bróf', trónut, brós'it, stó, pr'emój (adj. Masc.), and kvašn'ôj
m'en'šôj (adj. Fem.), gar'ečô vs. id'ćm, s'óla, pašól;
d'êla, l'êka, r'êc, l'ên', v'ês't', andr'êj, sêst, šššêpka vs.
n'éba, krést, p'éc, d'én', cv'és't', skar'éj.

In this dialect the tense vowels are implemented as extremely high, narrow [ê, ô], which often overlap with /i, u/, and less often as falling diphthongs [íe, úo].

In a central Vologda dialect[13] the opposition between /o, e/ and /ô, ê/ has a low functional load. After soft consonants and palatals /ô/ occurs only in certain grammatical endings: bol'šôj, tvojôj (Fem. obl.), vorob'jôf, fs'ôm, pr'ijôm (but note /o/ after hard consonants in drugójo, kakójo); /o/ appears between soft consonants only in desinences: n'óbo, na n'éb'e but tr'et'jój, z'eml'ój. In endings after soft consonants there is some free variation of /ô/ and /o/: fs'ôm, vorob'jôf, but also o c'óm, kupc'óf, kl'uc'of.

/ê/ occurs regularly before hard consonants but between soft consonants it is replaced by /i/: jêl, m'êsto but jíl'i, na m'ís't'i. /e/ before hard consonants occurs only in a few words s'ém, c'ép, c'érkof, r'ézvoj.

The seven-vowel system is found in three large areas:

a) in the North, in eastern Vologda, Kirov and adjacent areas of Arxangel'sk, Jaroslavl', Kostroma, and Mari and Udmurt ASSR.

b) in central dialects, in Vladimir, northern Rjazan' and adjacent dialects in Moscow oblast.

c) in the South in Belgorod, western Voronež and Lipeck.[14]

1.12. Six-Vowel Systems

The maximal seven and minimal five-vowel systems are fairly uniform, but there are several varieties of six vowel systems, which can be presented schematically as follows.

1	2	3	4	5
i u	i u	i u	ɨ u	i y u
ê/ô	ê	ô	e o	e o
e o	e o	e o	a a	a
a	a	a		
a	a	a		

1.121. In the first of these types ê and ô are in complementary distribution: in stems ê can appear after palatalized consonants and ô after hard, e.g. t'êlo and môkro; after palatals and c either ê or ô may appear but not both, e.g. d'ešôvij and šč̆épka or d'esóvij and šš̆épka. In grammatical endings ê may be excluded altogether (in dialects where the locative desinence is -e or -i) and ô appears only after hard consonants, e.g. s'elô, t'eplô, volkôf, drugôj, but b'el'jó, pl'ečó, xorošó, vorob'jóf, bol'šój.

In a dialect of north-central Saratov[15] /ê/appears only after soft consonants and /ô/ only after hard consonants and, in stems, after palatals

fstr'êl'i, t'êla, v'êt'ir, sov'êt, t'erp'êt', na losed'ê, fs'ê, gd'ê

and nôs'at, gôrku, narôt, godôf, molokô, kovô, sv'otlô but

tatar'jó, fs'ó

cf. volčôk, čiššôba but čužój, jicó like užó.

In this dialect there has been considerable redistribution of mid vowels in comparison with the historically expected vocalism, e.g. v'éra, c'élaj and xtó, drugój, drugóva, žonój but stô, p'osôk, volčôk.

The Atlas cites a number of dialects in which /e/ occurs only in stems (the stressed locative desinence is recorded as -é or -í although no examples are quoted), e.g. in r. Rybnoe, Rjazan'[16] ğ d'êlu, l'êtas', kl'êf, p'êsn'a, s'êm'a, na sv'êt'i; cf. /ô/ after hard consonants: n'ičağô, palôl'i, kartôški, snôxi.

A Belgorod dialect[17] may have a similar system; no examples of /ê/ are cited, and /ô/ occurs only after hard consonants and palatals:

karôva, xarôšaja, s'astrôju, p'arô, d'isôvaj, m'ağôju, xarasô vs.

plóxa, dóčir'i, čigó, čižólaj, bal'šója, išó, b'al'jó;

cf. d'êlat', s'êc, m'êr'et', u s'al'ê

The fragmentary data available would indicate that this system is found in both southern and east-central dialects, and may even be common.[18]

1.122. In type 2 the only tense vowel is /ê/. Dialects with this system are not numerous, but are well attested. The phonetic quality of /ê/ varies in these dialects, just as in those with seven vowels, between a diphthong [íe] and a simple vowel [ê]. In some there is a further range of variation extending to /i/, especially before soft consonants, and in many there is variation with lax /e/ before hard consonants. The following examples are from a dialect of eastern Karelia.[19]

m'êsto, sv'êt, na stol'ê, fs'ud'ê, roz'jêxal'is', but also m'ésto na p'ec'é, lís and poíd'eš (poédeš), na sv'ít'e.

A dialect of western Rjazan'[20] has a system transitional from a seven-vowel system; only older speakers have /ô/, e.g. kôt, vadôj, dl'i karôvi, na čôm, xarašô, but both older and younger speakers still use /ê/ regularly: l'êsa, fs'êx, u žan'ê, m'ês'ac, p'ês'n'i but vadój, kót, ǧót, rabóta, s'aló.

In an Orenburg dialect[21] /ê/ is now restricted to a few words: sl'êp, l'ês, m'êsta, pal'êna but gd'é, na stal'é, f s'én'i, zd'és'.

A rather large number of northwestern dialects have /ê/ with no trace of /ô/. These are scattered among others with only /e/ or only /i/ corresponding to etymological ě̯, e.g. l'és, v l'és'i or l'ís, v l'ís'i. In most dialects with /ê/ alone there is free variation or else it is restricted to isolated words. The following forms were all recorded in the same village in Novgorod: s'êna, v'êk but xl'ép na dvar'é, m'és'ica and m'ís'ic.

The six-vowel system with /ê/ is found in the same areas as the seven-vowel system and also in the Northwest(Novgorod, Leningrad and adjacent Karelia).

1.123. In type 3 the only tense vowel is /ô/. Although no comprehensive studies of dialects with this system are available, and its existence has been questioned by some scholars,[23] the literature indicates that it may be found in scattered localities where the seven-vowel system is breaking down gradually rather than by simultaneous loss of both tense vowels.

The Atlas cites a dialect near g. Kemlja, Mordva ASSR,[24] in which [ê] occurs only in word-initial and final position, so that it appears to be a positional variant of /é/ : êxat', na stal'ê, mn'ê, t'eb'ê but razd'émsi, pam'éscik, palat'én'ca. No examples of lax /ó/ were quoted, but note širôkaj, s'ilô, na svojôm,

fs'ô, xaraš̌ô.

Likewise, in a dialect of r. Njuksenica, Vologda,[25] môs (most), môda, parôm, korôva, rodnôj, z'eml'ôj, m'eš̌ôj; cf. sn'ék, d'élo, l'éto, b'éloj. The instability of such a system is shown by the fact that a recent survey of the entire area[26] found not only no evidence of /ê/ at all, but only a few examples of /ô/. Similarly, an 1897 report from eastern Moscow obl.[27] records p'irôk, sorôka, kotôrij, korôva, xorôš̌ij, while the Atlas materials collected in 1947 show no trace of /ô/.[28]

A transitional system which is basically of this type can be seen in a dialect of r. Klepiki, Rjazan';[29] /ê/ occurs only in the speech of old people, and young people sometimes have /ó/ where one would expect /ô/:

gr'êx, l'êt, nas'êtka and kôt, snôp, mnôga, rôza, davnô, vinô but also karóva, varóna, daróga, s'aló.

1.124. In type 4 there are no tense vowels; the sixth vowel phoneme is /a/, which is further back than /a/ but lower than /o/. The most recent and precise description[30] indicates that this vowel is slightly rounded, so the phonemic opposition /a/ : /a/ may be regarded as plain : flat. Historically /a/ is a reflec of /o/ in initial syllables which are now stressed as a result of a general shift of stress from final to initial syllables, e.g. rúka. Original /o/ in initial syllables now appears as /a/ : xaž̌ú, stala, f krav'i; in dialects with akan'e, original /o/ and /e/ appear as /a/: pájdu, kv'áti, n'ásu, žán'ix. Examples of the opposition /a/ : /o/ after hard consonants in a dialect with akan'e are garáx, pájas, damáj, atvar'í vs. górat, pójas (póezd), dóma, óz'ara. Examples of new /a/ after soft consonants are kv'áti, d'ála (npl.), n'ásu, c'ága (čegó), n'á xac'u; cf. kv'ét, d'éla (Gsg.), n'ós. Note that etymological /o/ is retained in all nonfinal syllables: óz'ara, karóva, iz ugaróda. The distributional rules involve two morphonemic alternations peculiar to these dialects, /o/ - /a/ and /e/ - /a/, e.g., gólavi (Npl.) - galaví (Gsg.), d'éla (Gsg.) - d'ála (Npl.). The data do not enable us to determine whether any of these dialects also have a seventh vowel phoneme /ê/.

This unique vowel system, undoubtedly formed under the influence of neighboring Finnic languages, is disappearing rapidly.[31] All the published materials on these dialects quote further examples with final stress: manáx, l'ubóf, tr'eská, sv'etój, tovdá, particularly in contracted present tense forms such as čitáš, b'el'ét. It should also be noted that in some dialects the shift of stress has

not affected the quality of vowels in newly stressed syllables, e.g. bóroda, póšlʲi, tvójemu and vʲedʲom, pʲékʲoš, pʲérogʲi, sʲémju.[32]

A recent study refers to a seven-vowel system with both /a/ and tense /ê/ in the same area, but we have no documentation. In terms of distinctive features we agree with the author that it should be regarded as identical to the classical seven-vowel system, although the distribution of the back vowels is altogether different.[33]

The six-vowel system with /a/ is found only on the Zaonežʲe peninsula and offshore islands of r. Medvežʲegorsk, Karelia.[34]

1.125. In type 5 the sixth vowel is a high central unrounded /y/, much like the variant of /i/ after hard consonants common to other dialects and the literary language. This vowel system is also found only in one small area, the lower Kolyma river basin, Jakut ASSR.[35] In this dialect the liquids /r, rʲ, l, lʲ/ are in free variation with /j/, and after this new /j/ there is an opposition /y/ : /i/, e.g. jítʲ (litʲ) vs. jýba (rýba). However, the liquids do occur at least sporadically, and their frequency varies considerably between villages, age-groups and sexes, as well as in different phonological environments. Prevocalic soft /rʲ, lʲ/ are most readily lost; on the other hand, hard /r/ before stressed vowels and final /l/ in the masculine past tense are relatively stable, and the former sometimes replaces soft /rʲ/ : jubjú, xodʲíja, dʲéjaja, smʲéjtʲ, dójogo, kjugóm but róbʲetʲ, rʲamka, résko, vréš and brál, govorél. For this reason we must regard the system with contrasting /y/ : /i/ as co-existent with a five vowel system; in the former a new vowel phoneme /y/ is added and two or three consonants, /rʲ, lʲ/, and occasionally /l/, are lacking. Examples of the opposition /y/ : /i/ are

jíj (lil), gjívnoj, jístvenʲ, vs. jýba, gjýsʲ (gryztʲ), jýtka (lytka),

Cf. also jjót (lʲëtʲ), jazvéj (razvël), jobáty (rebjata) and, with epenthetic t/d stjók (srok), jazʲdʲjézatʲ (razrezatʲ).

1.13. Five-Vowel System

i u
e o
a

This system is found in the great majority of dialects, and is the only productive type. The differences between the dialects and the literary language lie chiefly in the distribution of the nondiffuse vowels /e, o, a/

(see below). The following examples are from a Brjansk dialect which in other respects (consonantism, morphology, lexicon) also differs considerably from standard Russian.[36]

/í/: čatír'i, str'íč, sv'ín'n'i, čísta, /ú/: ǧalavú, vúz'il, l'úl'ka, /é/: z'ér'kala, d'at'éj, umr'ém, /ó/: stól, v'adró, zav'ól, b'al'l'ó, and /á/: xvártuk, vár'ut', uz'ál, r'ib'áta.

The five-vowel system predominates even where seven- and six-vowel systems are found, and is the only one in two vast areas, the West (all of Pskov, Kalinin, Smolensk) and Southwest (Kaluga, Tula, Brjansk, Orel, Kursk), and the Southeast (everywhere east of and including Gor'kij, Penza, Tambov and Rostov, with the exception of a few isolated villages settled from other regions).

1.2. Distribution

The distribution of vowels is not directly correlated with any specific type of vowel system, but cuts across dialects with different vocalic inventories. For this reason it can be discussed apart from individual dialects. Many of the statements given below are of necessity incomplete. There are very few monographic studies indicating the restrictions in the occurrence of each vowel phoneme.[37]

The distribution of the stressed vowels varies primarily according to the hardness or softness of the preceeding consonant, and of that of the following consonant, if the preceeding consonant is soft.

1.21. Distribution of the Tense Vowels (/e, o/)

/ê/ occurs etymologically only after soft consonants. New environments are those after palatals (in the locative desinence, by analogy), after velars, and in absolute initial position.

After palatals /ê/ is quite normal in many dialects in which this is the locative ending after soft consonants, e.g., v dušê, na m'ežê, na pl'ečê, like na stol'ê, etc.

After velars /ê/ can occur in place names. The Vologda river name k'êma is attested in the dialects with /ê/ in r. Nikol'sk.[38] (For

/ê/ after velars at morpheme boundaries see below under morphological restrictions,)

In word-initial position /ê/ is attested in the same dialect: êxala. Most dialects, however, do not allow initial /ê/, so the usual opposition is /jê/ : /jé/, e.g., jêxal, jês't' (eat), jêl, jêm vs. jést' (there is), jél'. Leveling to /jé/ is not uncommon, either.

/ô/ historically occurred only after hard consonants. Therefore, /ô/ after soft consonants and palatals, as well as in word-initial position, represent innovations. The analogical generalization of /ô/ in desinences is common to many dialects, e.g. Nsg. pl'ečô, b'el'jô, Isg. m'ezôj, Gpl. and family names bogačôf, adjective desinences čužôj (fem), cužôva, etc., and adverbs xorošô. The Southern dialects provide evidence that this is an early development. In dialects with dissimilation in pretonic syllables (where /i/ occurs before stressed /ó/ and /a/ before stressed /ô/), such forms as pl'ačô, m'ažôj, are quite normal; e.g. m'azôju in Belgorod.[39] /ô/ in stems after palatals is uncommon; cf. in the same dialect d'išôvaj and čižólaj. The generalization of /ô/after soft consonants implies its generalization after palatals as well, but not vice versa. For example, a dialect of Moscow oblast has generalized /ê/ and /ô/ after palatals, na nažê, xarašô, but does not admit /ô/ after soft consonants: štô, ženôj but fs'ó, z'eml'ój.[40]

A number of northern dialects have introduced /ô/ after soft consonants in stems. In the Vologda dialect cited above /ê/ and /ô/ may occur in all positions after soft consonants and palatals:

t'ômnoj, fs'ôj, sinov'jôf, žôn'it'c'o, o čôm, čužôva, bogačôf

vs. t'êsno, sus'êt, n'êkomu, v ogn'ê, za cêm, k p'ečê.

In a dialect near Kostroma city:[41] t'ôtka, t'ôlka, lɵxxoj (lëgkij), fs'ôj, ftrojôm and in names rubl'ôv'ik; cf. after palatals bol'šôj, jožôvaja and gubačôva.

And in r. Grjazovec, Vologda:[42] d'êlo, xl'êp, xot'êw, sofs'êm, mn'ê vs. t'ôtka, t'ôploj, t'ômno, kr'end'el'k'ôf, po gorot's't'ômu ; cf. čêlo, vo ržê and d'užô.

The same phenomenon is found in central dialects, but not in the South, e.g., in r. Zaxarovo, Rjazan':[43] t'ôtka, t'ôpla, paras'ônka, pajd'ôm, prajd'ôt; cf. xarašô, cužôj.

/ô/ does not normally occur in word-initial position; its usual reflex is /vó/-, e.g., vóstroj. However, a few central dialects do admit initial /ô/, as in western Vladimir:[44] ôb'i, ôs'im', ôp'iš (vopiš) vs. ókala, ótabral. In this position the contrast /ô/ : /ó/ is weak; /ó/ often appears instead of both original /ô/ (phonetically [uo]) and original /ó/ (phonetically [ou]): dôbrava, mnôga, lôšat', vôdu as well as svój, varóta, mazgóf, davnó. In a neighboring dialect[45] ôl'xa, ôstraja vs. ôkni.

1.22. Distribution of Nondiffuse Vowels (/e, o, a/).

/é/ occurs after soft consonants and palatals in all dialects. It does not occur in word-final position in some dialects which have a locative desinence -/ê/ and lack the particles eščé, užé or a second person plural verb desinence -it'é. It also appears unsystematically after hard consonants in some dialects, all of which, according to our data, have a phoneme /ê/ after soft consonants, as, for example, in Vladimir:[46] kapéik, dének, nékamu, pakét'ik (see the chapter on palatalized consonants).

A great many dialects donot allow word-initial /é/, hence jéto, etc. (and g'éto in Karelia; see the six-vowel system with /a/). This phenomenon is restricted to the stem of demonstratives, and the data are not exhaustive enough to afford a precise geographical identification.

For /e/ after hard consonants in adjective desinences and verb stems odnéj, sl'epévo, molodému, méju, kréju, see morphological restrictions below.

/o/ occurs after both hard and soft consonants and palatals in all dialects. For initial /ó/ see (c) below. For /o/ after soft consonants in stems t'ómnoj, pon'ós see mophological restrictions below.

/a/ occurs after hard and soft consonants and palatals in all dialects. It presumably can occur in absolute initial position, too, although it is quite rare, e.g. Anna, ángel, árby, áist.

1.23. Distribution of Rounded Vowels (/u, o/).

In some dialects a prothetic v- is required before any initial (usually stressed, but see below) flat vowel. In a dialect near Rostov[47] this seems to be automatic; no contrary examples are given:

vútram, vúčutca, vúmnaj, vúx'i (npl.), vús, vúrna, vúžinat', vúrav'in', vúl'ica and vón, vótpusk, vól'ga, vóddix, vóvaššsi, vóčir'it', vóblas', vókni, vórğan.

In the same dialect /v/ appears epenthetically to avoid hiatus: navúka, pravúlak, karavúl, šp'ivón, id'ivót, travúr, p'irívat (period), sporadically elsewhere: pačtal'vón, rajvón, vástraxan'. Note also /v/ before unstressed initial vowels: vučít'il', vut'úx, vuğal'ók, vučébnaj, vukrášin, vandr'éj.

Likewise, in a dialect of r. Andreevskoe, Smolensk[48], vútka, vúl'ica, vúxa, vós'in', vóz'ira, vókala as well as vul'ípčivij, vad'ór (odr); cf. um'éit', udár'it', us'íx (vsex), ur'ém'a, u p'ičí. In a dialect of r. Dmitriev, Kursk,[49] vúm, vútka, vúši, vúl'isa, vúšitca, vóba, vókarak, vós'in', vóz'ira.

However, the data for most dialects is incomplete and therefore not definitive. Lexical items with a prothetic v- are found in many dialects. For example, in a recent survey of Smolensk dialects forms with /v/- abound; navúka, vúxa, pavúžinal'i, vúm'ir, vúčas', vóvci, vótčistva, vóbisk, vóddal, vóspa as well as za vaknóm, vaddal'ítca, vaddáj, vakóška, vas'ótr. Most dialects, however, are not completely consistent and also exhibit many words with initial /ú, ó/.

The prothetic /v/ or /w/ is a southwestern feature, found in dialects of southern Pskov, Smolensk, Brjansk, western Kaluga and Orël, and Kursk, and in a number of dialects south of the Don in Rostov and Krasnodar.[50] In other dialects /u/ occurs in all environments without restriction.

1.24 Distribution of Diffuse Unrounded Vowel (/i/).

/i/ occurs in all possible environments in all dialects with the exception of a few in which a prothetic /j/ appears before word-initial /i/, e.g., in Kurgan, jízbu, jím'o, jíššot, jíl'isto.[51] Insufficient information on this problem in the literature makes a difinitive statement impossible.[52]

1.25. Vowel distribution between Soft Consonants.

In various dialects certain vowels may not occur between soft consonants. The exclusion of any vowel in this position entails an automatic alternation such as that between a and e in gr'áznoj - gr'és'. In many dialects these alternations are complicated by morphological conditions, but in some they are strictly phonological.

1.251. The distribution of /ê/

Dialects which do not admit /ê/ between soft consonants have a regular alternation /e/ - /i/, as in r. Nikol'sk, Vologda:[53] n'ev'êsta, sov'êt, xot'êl, usp'ěšno - k n'ev'ís't'i, f sov'ít'i, xot'íl'i, usp'íjot, or the Tot'ma dialect quoted earlier[54]

xl'êp, m'êsto, l'ês, gr'êw, jés (3 sg.), v'ěšu, jěždžu - xl'íb'ec, na m'ís't'e, v l'ís'ę, gr'íl'i, jís' (Inf.), vís'iš, jíz'd'it,

While /i/ is normal before soft consonants, a range of free variants including [e], [ę] and [i] before hard consonants is even more widespread than a consistent alternation /e/ - /i/, as exemplified by a number of dialects in the Vetluga river basin in Kostroma,[55] where along with the usual sus'íd'i, b'fl'en'koj, xl'íb'ec, na sv'ít'e, jís', jíl'i, smotr'ít', smotr'íl'i we find sporadically smotr'êl'i and sus'êd'i, s'jês', and before hard consonants m'êsto, d'êlo, l'ês, zb'êgaet, smotr'êw as well as xl'ěp, d'ílo, l'ís, sus'ít, b'ígala besides the expected xl'êp, d'êlo, l'ês, sus'êt.

The data presented in the Atlas indicate that dialects with a regular alternation e/i are relatively few and scattered, although reflexes of it in individual words are often quite widespread, e.g. s'ív'er, d'ív'er, m'ís'ac, z'd'ís'.[56]

Dialects with this restriction on /e/ and the corresponding alternation are located primarily in Vologda and adjacent parts of the North (southern Arxangel'sk, eastern Leningrad, Kirov, Kostroma and Jaroslavl'). They are not found at all in the South; for central dialects east of Moscow the data are not definitive.

1.252. The distribution of /e/

In some dialects /e/ between soft consonants is replaced by /i/; st'íp',

zír'kalo, m'í!'ut, s'ím', d'ís'at', v'íčir, top'ír, na n'íj, lošad'íj (Gpl.), sv'in'íj are all attested in the literature or in the Atlas. The systematic elimination of /e/ between soft consonants has been relatively neglected. It was not included in any of the Programs, even the latest, and was not recognized as a regular phenomenon until the collection of material for the Atlas.[57] However, scholars have referred to it in general studies of various dialects (see below).[58]

Note that in addition to the automatic alternation /e/ - /i/, e.g. r'éku - r'ík'i, l'ézu - l'íz'iš there are also morphophonemic alternations in the same dialects: /o/ - /i/ in n'ós, čitv'órtij, v'is'ólij, m'órtvij - n'ís't' (Inf.), čitv'-ír'k, v'is'íl'je, sm'ír't', and # - /i/ in pl'itn'á, fs'é - pl'it'ín', v'ís.

The following examples are from a dialect of western Rjazan'[59]

m'íl'n'ici, žurav'íl', gr'íb'in', v'íčir, s'ím', d'ís'it', m'íl'ut, tr'íp'ut, s'm'íj (Gpl.), gas't'íj.

In a group of western Vladimir dialects[60] /e/ between soft consonants may be realized as a very high [ẹ], phonetically similar to the /e/ of the seven- or six-vowel system, but it is more frequently replaced by /i/; the high, narrow [e] is not phonemically distinctive.

f'íd'a, f'ódar; vl'íz'it, otm'ín'ut, n'iv'ís't'i, r'ík'i, d'ín'g'i; d'ín', ub'íj, v'ís'; s'ím, dv'ír', s'ír'p, jíj, kon'íšna; cf. s'én'i, b'ir'ézn'ik, d'it'éj

A dialect near Kazan, Tatar ASSR, has considerable free variation between [é], [ẹ́] and [í]:[61]

post'él, pl'it'én', s'én'i, jél'i, tr'ét'ij, nav'ér'x, u jéj, m'ẹ́s'ac, vr'ém'a, kop'éjka, d'ẹ́s'it', d'ér'gal'i, and d'íf'k'i, jís', gr'ít', s'ím', p'íč, m'ín'ši, d'ís'it

That neutralization of mid vowels with /i/ was at least recently an operative rule is shown by such modern borrowings as kl'ív'ir, muz'íj, kanar'íjka, stroín'ja.[62] These dialects are concentrated in eastern Kalinin, but others mentioned in the literature without accompanying data are found in Vladimir, Moscow, Rjazan', Gor'kij, Ul'janovsk and Kostroma.[63] This subject requires further investigation.

1.253. The distribution of /á/

In some dialects /á/ is not permitted between soft consonants, where it is replaced by /é/ in both stems and grammatical suffixes

gr'áznoj, p'átoj, r'át, t'ánut, pl'áska, pr'ál, p'ečátat' - gr'és' p'ét', r'éd'it, t'én'eš, pl'és'k'i, pr'és't', p'ečét' - gul'ét', gul'éju, gul'él'i, kr'ičét'..., sud'ét'c'a

Moreover, a number of words and desinences corresponding to /a/ in other dialects and literary Russian have /e/: d'éd'a, kn'és', z'ét', xoz'éin, jés'l'i (jasli), čéjka, dn'ém'i and (southern, 3rd Pl) s'id'ét'. Note that some words with /e/ are found over vast areas, even in the deep South, where no such alternation exists op'ét', pl'em'én'n'il:, z'ét', etc.[64]

This phenomenon has long been known,[65] but only since the fieldwork for the Atlas was completed has a clear distinction been made between systems in which this is an automatic alternation and those in which /a/ between soft consonants is allowed in desinences s'id'át', načám'i, pat'er'ál'i, pat'er'áju.

Thus, in the dialects of Tot'ma, Vologda:[66] vz'áw, pr'áw, l'águ, oz'ábla, stojála, t'ánut, bojálas', xr'es'jána - vz'él'i, pr'él'i, l'ežoš, oz'ébl'i, stojét', t'én'oš, bojét's'e, xr'es'jén'in; cf. also d'éd'a, xoz'éin, kn'és', jéstr'ep. The exceptions are few, and found in many other northern dialects also: a) inconsistency before palatals: cf. l'ežoš above and opojášu, v'ážoš, pl'ášoš; b) the comparative ending -ája (with a variant -éjo): umn'ája, skor'ája along with skor'éjo, s'il'n'éjo; c) the word c'ár', and d) sporadic borrowings from the literary language: d'ád'a, op'át', nac'át', boját's'e along with d'éd'a, op'ét', bojét's'e. (The instrumental plural ending is -am: pol'ám, kost'ám). After palatals /a/ is usual: žát', d'oržál'i.

From a western Arxangel'sk dialect[67] are quoted fs'ék'ima(vsjákimi), l'ud'ém'i, as well as gr'és', čés'(čast'), pojés'ja(pojasá), l'ég'ot, t'én'o(tjánet), nar'éd'it's'i. In this dialect the comparative is formed with -é or -ii. In a southern Arxangel'sk dialect the comparative ending is -áje: skur'áje, m'il'áje, but otherwise /e/ occurs: p'ec'él', (pečál'), jésl'i (jásli), m'in'ét', t'én'oš, gon'éjut.

In a northern Rjazan' dialect[69] are these examples: d'éd'a, n'én'ki, atn'él'i, pr'él'i, s'id'ét' (sidjat), ğavar'ét', dn'ém'i, ğvaz'd'ém'i, and in a neighboring dialect[70] occur: n'én'utka, vz'él'i, kamn'ém'i (the verb desinence is -at, with hard t).

In a western Saratov dialect[71] where only about 8 percent of the forms obtained by a very thorough study show /a/ : s'v'és', jév'itca, stajét', kaval'ém'i. In this dialect /e/ also appears by analogy before hard consonants: kr'ičéla, pa fs'ékamu like kr'ičét, fs'ék'ij.

In a dialect of Čeljabinsk[72] (settled from r. Moršansk, Tambov) dr'én', jéjci, fs'éki, tr'épk'i, bajél'is, palučéj (Imperat.), padar'ét' (3 pl.), ğus'ém'i, val'k'ém'i, but here /a/ is beginning to appear even among old people: p'át', pr'ál'i.

Although this phenomenon is correctly regarded as typically northern[73] (Vologda, Arxangel'sk, Kostroma, Kirov), the examples show that it has developed independently in a number of southeastern dialects, and it is also found in isolated localities elsewhere in the South (Kaluga, Orel, Voronež).[74]

1.26. Morphological Conditions.

Some of the distributional restrictions apply only to stems and not to grammatical suffixes. A greater degree of differentiation of vocalism in grammatical endings is to be expected, and is demonstrated in the unstressed vocalism of the dialects and the literary language.[75]

/ê/ is restricted to stems in some dialects which have a locative ending -/é/ or -/í/, e.g. gn'êzda but v gn'ezd'é. Several such dialects are cited in the Atlas, although no documentation is given.[76] Insufficient information is available to determine the geographical distribution of this phenomenon.

After stem-final velars desinential /ê/ is attested in at least one dialect of Moscow obl.[77] s kak'êf pôr; cf. têx, fs'êx. The instrumental k'em is found in a number of dialects.

/ô/ after soft consonants is restricted to desinences in a great majority of the dialects, e.g. b'el'jô, vorob'jôf, z'eml'ôj. For exceptions with /ô/ in stems see the preceeding discussion.

After palatals /ô/ in stems is attested in the Belgorod[78] and Saratov dialects mentioned above.[79]

/e/ after hard consonants is fcund mainly in dialects in which the stressed adjectival endings are -éj, -ému, etc. e.g. odnéj, molodému, and also in a few western dialects which have the verb forms méj-u, kréj-u, etc.[80]

In a few dialects which have lost /ê/ an alternation /e/ - /i/ reflecting an earlier /ê/ - /i/, is confined to a small number of words, as in a Rjazan' dialect[81]

k l'ésu, r'éku, dv'é, d'éfka - v l'ísi, r'íčka, dv'ís't'i, d'ífk'i; cf. dit'éj, v'iz'ét', b'adn'éja, v'al'él'i

and in a western Vologda dialect[82]

xl'ép, v'érnoj, s'éno, m'ésto, l'és, l'éto, p'él, xot'él but f xl'íb'e v'ír'it', na s'ín'e, v m'íst'e, v lís'e, l'ít'n'oi, zap'íl'i, xot'íl'i

/a/ between soft consonants may be restricted to desinences and verbal suffixes, as in northeastern Rjazan'[83]

p'átaj, gr'áznaj, bajáls'i - p'ét', grés', bajél'is' but kur'át', var'át', z ǧus'ám'i, ǧvaz'd'ám'i

This dialect has generalized /a/ or /e/ in various verbs:

str'al'át', str'al'ál'i but padn'ét', padn'él'i, t'ar'áitca but javl'éitca

These dialects are found in the same areas as those in which the alternation /a/ - /e/ admits no exception, and in fact the latter are much more numerous than the former in the North.

In a few dialects /o/ is not permitted between soft consonants in stems; there is a regular alternation /o/ - /e/, which is known to the literary language only in derivation, and is not consistent; sël- sél'skij, lëd - lédnik, dalëkij - daléče; but cf. priëm - priëmnik, žëstkij, - žëstče, pës pësik, zeľénym - zeľën-en'kij.

The dialect of Tot'ma, Vologda[84] has a regular alternation in stems c'ótnoj, kr'ós, kr'uc'ók, pokl'ópan, prot'ór - c'érn'en'koj, kr'ést'ik, kr'uc'éc'ik, kl'épl'et, prot'ér'l'i; cf. jój (eë), z'eml'ój, tr'et'jój. One exception noted was the pronoun ots'ól'a (otsjuda). The alternation appears only sporadically in verb desinences: sm'ijós's'e, kl'en'et'ós' but also sm'ijétc'e, bod'it'és'. Cf. in a southern Arxangel'sk dialect[85] b'jés's'e, živ'ét's'e, smijéms'e along with sm'ijóms'e.

In a western Arxangel'sk dialect[86]

m'ixal'óvo, matr'óxa, p'óxnuto, pod'óm, d'ókot', p'ik'óš, zov'ót -
v m'ixal'év'i,u matr'éx'i, pr'ip'éxn'oš, pod'émt'i, d'ék't'u, sm'ijés's'i,
zov'ét's'i.

/o/ after soft consonants is restricted to certain suffixes (mostly desinential) in a small group of dialects, e.g. pr'in'és but pr'ines'óm, In such a system /e/ and /o/ are nearly in complementary distribution in stems: only /o/ occurs after hard consonants and only /e/ after soft, while after palatals both can occur. Although only one of these dialects has been described in detail, the data on others make it clear that /o/ is always generalized in certain desinences, so there may be no dialect where these vowels are actually in complementary distribution[87]. This type of vocalism has been known about since the turn of the century[88].

In a dialect of r. Spassk,Rjazan'[89] /o/ appears only in case endings and the suffixes -ok and -ov

ružjó, ağn'óm, va fs'óm, z'aml'ój, va fs'ój, m'dv'ad'óf, ugal'ók,
balašóf (place name); cf. z'érni (Npl), d'én (Gpl), itvar'éna (otvoreno),
rab'énak, d'ešava, t'éplaj, z'el'énaj, st'er'éx, pr'iv'és

The vowel /o/, borrowed from neighboring dialects or the literary language, occurs only infrequently in verb endings.

mağés, mağ'ét', mağém, mağ'ét'a; cf. s'ik'óš, zatr'ót, talk'óm

Most of these dialects have /e/ in verb desinences.

After palatals both /e/ and /o/ can be found within stems and in various suffixes in different dialects: d'ešévaj, zažéx, t'ežélaj vs. pr'išól, žóltaj, žóni in the dialect quoted above: in r. Krasnopartizansk, Saratov[90] žéltij, žéni but d'išóvij, and živ'óš, živ'óm but živ'ét'; in r. Rjazan'[91] tr'éx, in r. Rybnoe, Rjazan' čitir'éx.

The examples adduced in the Atlas, however, show that almost all of these dialects include at least a few literary words with /o/. On the other hand, the stressed syllable of verb stems (as well as a few lexical items like sv'ékar) generalize /e/: sterég, prinés, privéz, zamérz vs. vërst, vesëlyi, daľéko, lipëška, tëtka. Since some words with /o/ can be found in almost all these dialects, this vowel system must be regarded as very archaic.

One Rjazan' dialect cited in the Atlas[92] does not seem to have /o/ after soft consonants at all: dal'éka, pr'iv'és, kat'énak, sal'énaj and tr'éx, z'aml'éj (inst), ğvaz'd'ém, n'es'ém, but a detailed description would be necessary to determine whether this is actually a four-vowel system.

This system is found chiefly in northern Rjazan' and western Penza, the area known as the Meščera.

2. Unstressed Vocalism

2.1. Pretonic Vocalism

2.11. Vowel Inventories

The pretonic vowel systems of the dialects comprise either five, four or three phonemes. In the maximal, five-vowel system the phonemes are the same as the stressed vowel phonemes of literary Russian and the great majority of dialects. All dialects maintain pretonic /i/ and /u/ in all environments and /a/ after hard consonants, e.g. dyšát', pilá, širókij; kumá, ljubít', šumét'; and travá, but the four- and three-vowel systems lack either or both of the mid vowels /e/ and /o/.

The dialects differ further in the restrictions on the occurrence of /e, o/ and /a/ in various environments other than after hard consonants; usually the greatest restrictions apply between soft consonants, and in many dialects special rules govern the distribution of these vowels after the palatals /š, ž/ and, less systematically, /č/ and /c/ (see 2.1213. below).

In many dialects the maximal distinctions of vowels are made after soft consonants, but in some the maximal distinctions are found after palatal rather than palatalized consonants, and in others the maximal distinctions are permitted after hard consonants. The vocalism of the dialects after palatals, however, is insufficiently documented in the literature. Hence, if only one or two examples indicate a five-vowel opposition after palatals, e.g. cená: colúju: car'á or čertá: čotír'e: časí but not after palatalized consonants, the maximal opposition may be regarded as marginal to the system. It should also be noted that the vocalism after palatals varies widely in otherwise similar dialects. The following discussion will be chiefly concerned with the vocalism after hard and soft consonants.

2.111. Five-vowel system

The maximal system of pretonic vowels is one in which /e/, /o/ and /a/ as well as /i/ and /u/, are distinguished in at least one consonantal environment. Among the dialects we can differentiate those in which various environments impose different restrictions on the occurrence of /o/, /a/, and less frequently, /e/. The relevant consonantal environments are the following:

(a) C'_C, e.g. d'elá : s'olá : pr'alá

(b) Š_, e.g. želát' : žoná : žará

(c) C'_C' e.g. s'em'já : s'or'gá : p'at'í

After hard consonants /o/ and /a/ can occur in any dialect with five pretonic vowels, but /e/ never occurs systematically (see the chapter on palatalized consonants). The restrictions on /e, o/ and /a/ in the dialects are usually minimal in position (a), less usually in (b), and maximal in (c).

The following examples are from a western Vladimir dialect in which all five vowels may occur between as well as after soft consonants[1]

s'oló, b'orú, jomú, f s'ol'é, d'or'mó vs. r'eká, v l'esú, t'eb'á, t'ek'ót and jamšík, vz'alá, pr'adú, d'es'at'í, gl'ad'ét'.

In this dialect /e/ and /o/ are in complementary distribution after palatals: /o/ appears before hard consonants and /e/ before soft, while /a/ may appear before either: šostój, žolúdak, fčorá, čoší but žen'íx, pčel'ínij; cf. šagát', žalát', časí, žal'ét, čad'ít.

Dialects with five vowel phonemes after soft consonants are scattered over a vast area extending from Kalinin eastward to Kirov and southeastward to Saratov and the Urals, but are particularly concentrated in the east-central zone (Vladimir, Gor'kij).

In a different type of five-vowel system the opposition of pretonic /e/ : /o/ : /a/ is maintained only after palatals. The following examples are from a western Arxangel'sk dialect where /a/ does not appear after palatalized consonants[2]

šelún, česí, šel'ít', žekčí, čer'ómxa vs. žoná and žalát', žarkój, fčará, žan'íx, žal'ézo; cf. after soft consonants t'opló, jomú, l'ožát' and vz'elá, m'esnój (mjasnoj).

A central Kirov dialect[3] further restricts non diffuse vowels after soft consonants to /e/

pšenó, česí, d'ešev'ís' (deševizna), čejk'ú vs. šš̆oká, šš̆on'áta, žoná, žon'íx and žanát, žalát', žarkój, čar'íča, na lošad'é; cf. s'eló, t'emná, v'edú, fs'eldá (sic) and jezík, jegn'áta, m'esnój, v'ezát', jev'íls'a.

Similarly, in a dialect of southwestern Arxangel'sk,[4] želát', česí, žel'ézo vs. žoná, žon'íx, pšon'íca and šalún, žal'ét', čad'ít' but after soft consonants only sl'ezá, n'esú, l'egók, s'er'gá and vz'elá, pr'elá, p'et'í, gl'ed'ét'.

In a Sverdlovsk dialect[5] the five-vowel system is marginal; after palatals /o/ is attested only as the linking vowel in compounds, i.e. bol'šorótijo žená, t'eželá, češí, pšen'íca and žará, k lošad'é, žak'ét. After soft consonants /o/ and /a/ are excluded: t'epló, gn'ezdó, n'eslá, b'eźal, pr'emája, po gr'ez'é.[6]

Dialects with a maximal vowel distribution after palatals and restrictions after palatalized consonants are scattered over a broad belt from Arxangel'sk to western Siberia (cf. the examples above).

2.112. Four-vowel systems

In most dialects with four pretonic vowel phonemes there is only one mid vowel, which may have two variants (usually e/o). Less commonly there is a single variant with redundant rounding (o) or unrounding (e). Another system, confined to a few southern dialects, opposes a central mid vowel /ɑ/ to /a/ after hard consonants; this is a phonemicization of a feature found in many southwestern dialects where /a/ has the variants a/ɑ (see three-vowel system, type 2, below).

Just as in the five-vowel system, /e/ never occurs regularly after hard consonants in any four-vowel system. After soft consonants /e/ is generally admitted and /o/ or /a/ is excluded, or both. In the latter case the maximal distinctions are made after hard consonants, where /o/ or /ɑ/ and /a/ are opposed. After palatals the oppositions /e/ : /o/, /e/ : /a/ and /o/ : /a/ may all be found. Since our data regarding the palatals is meager, we shall discuss the vocalism after palatals later under distributional restrictions. We thus find the following patterns: (1) after hard consonants normally /o/ : /a/ and rarely /ɑ/ : /a/ or, with akan'e only /a/, and (2) after soft consonants usually /e/ : /a/, /e/ : /o/ or only /e/, and more rarely, /o/ : /a/ or only /a/. The different varieties of the four-vowel system can be schematized as follows:

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
i u	i u	i u	i u	i u	i u
e/o	o	e o	o	e	ɑ
a	e/a	a	a	a	a

(1) e/o in complementary distribution

In this type o occurs after hard and e after soft consonants, whereas a may occur after both in most dialects. In a few, however, e appears only after palatals. The following examples are from an Arxangel'sk dialect[7] in which a and e are opposed after both palatalized and palatal consonants:

sl'ezá, b'erú, f s'el'é, b'er'óš, želánnoj, želúdok, žel'ézo, žen'íx vs. pr'adú, vz'alá, p'at'í, gl'ad'ét', šalún, časí, žal'ét'; cf. after hard consonants pošl'í, borodá and pastúx,

Another variety of this type is represented by a dialect of Udmurt ASSR,[8] where a and e are opposed after palatals, but only /i/ appears after palatalized consonants (this subtype of ikan'e is discussed under distributional rules, 2.227):

pšená, r'išetó, pšen'íca, žen'ílsa vs. šagóf, žará, žar'ít', žal'éju; cf. s'istrá, r'iká, pl'isát', t'inú, n'is'í, r'ib'ína.

(2) e/a in complementary distribution

In this type a occurs after hard and e after soft consonants, while o may occur after both. After palatals the opposition can be either o :a or o : e.

In a Sverdlovsk dialect[9] the opposition o : e is found after both palatalized and palatal consonants:

gn'ozdó, v l'osú, t'os'má, žon'íx vs. vz'elá, p'eták, t'ek'ót, želát'[10]

In an eastern Vologda dialect[11] the o : a opposition is found after both hard consonants and palatals;

jomú, v'osná, sl'opój, nad'ovát', p'okú vs. p'etnó, sv'etój, p'ekót,

but žoná, pčolá, žon'íx, pčol'ínoj vs. žaláť, žaráf, žarčája, čažóloj.

Dialects with e/a in complementary distribution are found throughout the Northeast (Arxangel'sk, Perm', Vologda, Kostroma, Kirov and across the Urals as far as Kurgan).[12]

(3) e as a variant of both /o/ and /a/

This type admits /o/ and /a/ after hard consonants, but only e after soft consonants. The vocalism after palatals varies widely between dialects.

In a southwestern Kirov dialect the /o/ : /a/ opposition is maintained after palatals as well as hard consonants:[13]

kormán, robóta, rozgovór, žoná, šš'on'áta vs. zakúska, klad'í, žanát, žan'íx, žalát', na lošad'é but jemú, n'esú, v'esná, p'ekót, c'ejk'ú, vz'elá, p'etnó, jezík, v'ezát', jeíc'.

The example c'ar'á with /a/ after a soft consonant, is unique in many northern dialects.

In the dialect of g. Šadrinsk(Kurgan) /o/ and /a/ are excluded after palatals, as after palatalized consonants, and only e appears:

s'eló, sl'ezá, b'erú, vz'elá, pr'edú and šelún, česí žel'ét

This pattern of vocalism is found in a large part of the Northeast and western Siberia[14].

(4) Dialects without e

In this type of vocalism /o/ and /a/ are opposed after hard consonants. After soft consonants the opposition may be the same, or only /a/ may appear, or both vowels may be eliminated in favor of /i/.

In an eastern Karelian dialect[15] the opposition /o/ : /a/ is maintained after palatalized and palatal consonants before hard consonants. Between soft consonants, however, only /i/ appears. In the environment Š_C' /a/ can occur but mid vowels are replaced by /i/:

s'ostrá, c'otír'i, fs'ogdá, na b'ir'ogú, šostók, žoná, žostók vs. t'anú, zapr'aglá, pl'aší, žaráf (žuravl'), žarkój, žalát' but na p'ic'í, t'ik'ót, n'isl'í, zapr'igl'í, jiv'ílsi, žird'jó, źikc'í and šal'nój, na lošad'é.

Another variety of this type, in which /o/ and /a/ are admitted only after hard consonants and palatals, and /i/ appears after soft consonants, is illustrated by a Novgorod dialect[16]

robótn'ik, monáx, šš'oká vs. sard'ínka, dal'óko, žarkój, aržanój.
but p'iró, n'isú, v'isná, sv'itój, l'ib'ótka, n'id'íl'a, t'ičé (tekèt), pot'ir'át'.

Although /č/ is hard in this dialect, it acts on the following vowel as if soft: čiló, čirstvój.

The patterns above are typically northwestern (Novgorod, Leningrad, Karelian ASSR), but sporadic tendencies in this direction can be observed in various other areas, e.g. Udmurt ASSR[17] and the east-central zone[18].

A system like the former one above is cited by R. I. Avanesov[19] for some dialects of Vladimir and Ul'janovsk, but it is not documented in the sources available to us. The only o- dialects without /e/ in the Atlas (points 472, 914) show e as a frequent free variant of /o/. Furthermore, in such dialects, along with forms like m'ostá, r'oká, zv'ozdá, p'otúx, where /o/ is the pretonic alternant of stressed /e/, one invariably finds some words with /e/; for example, d'elá is quite rare[20]. The data in the Atlas shows a high degree of free variation of o and e in many east-central dialects, and an analogous pattern in antepretonic syllables can be observed in a number of northern dialects, where such forms as p'otrográt, d'olovój are not rare.

A different variety of system without e is illustrated by a few transitional dialects which exclude mid vowels after soft consonants but maintain the /o/ : /a/ opposition after hard consonants.

A quite different system without e exists in a few transitional dialects which exclude mid vowels after soft consonants but admit /o/ after hard consonants, i.e. have jakan'e without akan'e. The examples are from a dialect of eastern Siberia (Krasnojarsk) in which e and o appear occasionally as free variants of /a/. Note that /o/ and /a/ are opposed after palatals.

šostój, žoná, čotír'e, počomú, žon'ílsa vs. šagát' but n'a znám, javó, dv'anácat', b'ar'ót, v'adm'ét', d'arčónka, p'at'í and vojovál, ujožžáš, ješšó, s'eb'á.

A dialect on the Estonian border[21] further restricts this pattern by excluding /a/ between soft consonants:

na b'ir'agú, p'asók, m'ažá, s'astrí, javó but v d'it'áx, s'im'já, m'in'á; cf. zaná, čatír'i, lošad'óf, v r'išat'í and gorú, samovár, golová, govor'ít', palov'ík.

(5) Four-vowel system without /o/

This type of vocalism does not admit /o/ after hard consonants, but it differs from the characteristic southern three-vowel system in the presence of the opposition /e/ : /a/ after soft consonants (but not palatals), i.e. akan'e with a phoneme /e/. The examples are from an Ul'janovsk dialect[22]

p'ekú, s'estrá, f s'el'í, b'er'ót vs. pr'adú, vz'alá, gl'ad'él, d'ev'at'í,

Such four-vowel systems without /o/ are found in a few scattered east-central dialects from Moscow to the Urals (Kujbyšev, Saratov, Mordva and Baškir ASSRs, Čeljabinsk) and widely separated areas elsewhere (Pskov, Kostroma, Kirov and Siberia).[23]

(6) Four-vowel system with /ɑ/

In this type the mid vowel phoneme is a reduced central unrounded /ɑ/, similar to the variant of /a/ that occurs after hard consonants in some three-vowel systems with dissimilation (see 2.1322. below).

One variety of this system is found in a number of transitional dialects where the unrounding of /o/ to /ɑ/ is the initial stage in the development of akan'e. The examples are from a Tula dialect directly south of Moscow[24]

vɑdá, tɑpór, xɑd'ít vs. samá, davál, dar'ít'.

In this dialect /i/ replaces all non diffuse vowels after soft consonants:

s'iló, v'idú, b'idú, f p'iskú, l'iğúška, pl'isát', ğl'id'ét'.

A dialect in eastern Siberia shows a similar pattern, but with considerable free variation of o/ɑ/a after hard consonants:[25] skazál, zabrós'il, razd'éfši.

A different variety of the system with /ɑ/ is found in a few dialects in the deep South (Voronež, Belgorod), where /ɑ/ appears before stressed /á/ and in the mid vowels /é, ó/ which are the reflexes of lax e and o, while /a/ appears before /i, u/ and the mid vowels which are reflexes of tense ê and ô. (See the three-vowel system with Obojan' dissimilation, 2.1322(4a) below.) The examples are from a Belgorod dialect[26]

tɑkój (Masc.), vɑstók, skɑm'éika, klɑd'ém and nɑ stɑlbáx, lɑžátca, n'ixɑt'á vs. vadój, rabóta, pas'éw, čilav'ék and vadí, xad'íla, f sadú, načúja (nočuet).

This vowel pattern is archaic, unstable, and very rare.

Three-vowel system

A system of three pretonic vowels lacks mid vowel phonemes. As in the five- and four-vowel systems, /i/ and /u/ can occur in all environments. The absence of the /o/ : /a/ opposition is conventionally called akan'e, and dialects with akan'e (also noted in types 5 and 6 of the four-vowel system) will be referred to as a-dialects as opposed to o-dialects.

We can distinguish several varieties of the three-vowel system, according to the presence or absence of centralized variants of /a/:

(1) System with a/e in complementary distribution

There are two varieties of this pattern, in which [e] is a variant of /a/ after soft consonants. In a Vladimir dialect [e] appears only between soft consonants.[27] Note that clusters of C+C' are treated as hard.

um'arlá, b'adí, v l'asú, p'akl'í, s'astr'é but d'et'éj, t'ep'ér',
sab'er'óm, v'es'ólaj

In the most common variety [e] appears regularly after any soft consonant as in a Kalinin dialect:[28]

v'elá, t'emná, s'eló, p'eták, d'ešóva and m'en'át', zap'er'ét', p'et'í.

In the dialect of Leka (eastern Moscow obl.)[29] [ä] also appears occasionally (cf. the system with free variation below):

v'ezú, b'erús', r'edí, p'etnô, r'ebôj, xl'ebóx, r'ezán' and k v'en'cú
kačer'gú, v'es't'í, gar'ečô, n'ev'êsta, v'ez'óm, gl'ed'ím but also s'äidix
v'äsná, fp'är'ót, ul'ät'êl, gl'äd'ím,

These patterns are most characteristic of a group of dialects east of Moscow, but ekan'e with akan'e is also found in widely scattered localities as far west as Kalinin, and usually interspersed among dialects with only /a/ or only /i/ in these environments[30] and is attested in Siberia.[31] (For the distribution of [a] and [e] in various dissimilatory systems see the distributional rules in vocalic environments, 2.1321 below.)

(2) Free variation of a and e

In such a system the variants after soft consonants also include a low fronted [å]. It is very difficult to determine the actual range of variation from most descriptions. For example, this symbol was deliberately omitted from the program for the Atlas and hence was used by few of the investigators.[32] The following forms were all recorded in three neighboring villages east of Moscow:[33] d'alóf, v'asná, isp'akút, pas't'al'ú, d'ar'évn'a, pr'ad'óm, n'as'í and d'elóf, v'esná, isp'ekút, s't'el'ú, d'er'évn'a, pr'ed'óm, n'es'í. Similar variation has been observed in such widely romoved areas as Pskov and Stavropol',[34] as well as in central o-dialects.

Free variation is restricted to the position between soft consonants in a Kazaxstan dialect:[36] b'adá, t'apló, b'arút, v l'asú and d'ar'évn'a, l'at'ít, b'ar'óm but also d'ev'ísa, v'el'íka, b'er'ót.

The fact that this pattern is found in some central border dialects indicates that it is transitional between the four-vowel system without /o/ (type 5) and the simple three-vowel system (type 4 below).

(3) System with a/ɑ in complementary distribution

In this type of vocalism pretonic /a/ after hard consonants has a reduced central variant [ɑ] before stressed /á/, and in some dialects before mid vowels. Thus, in a Brjansk dialect[37] stalí, kan'éc, kasú, damój but vɑdá, sɑxá.

This pattern is known as dissimilative akan'e. It is western and southwestern (southern Pskov, Smolensk, western Kalinin and Kaluga, Brjansk, Orel, Kursk, Belgorod and Voronež).[38] (For a discussion of the different varieties see 2.1321. below.)

(4) System with only a

In this pattern /a/ has no centralized variant. The great diversity of subtypes with different restrictions on the occurrence of /a/ in various consonantal and vocalic environments are one of the most distinctive marks of Russian, and their distributional rules are discussed separately below (2.13 ff.). The occurrence of /a/ after soft consonants is known as jakan'e, and in the classic type, jakan'e proper (polnoe/sil'noe jakan'e), /a/ may appear in all environments without restriction, and regularly replaces the mid vowels /e, o/, e.g. in paradigmatic alternations cv'ét/cv'atí and s'ól/s'alá as well as vz'ál/vz'alá. The examples are from a dialect of eastern Brjansk[39]

> cv'atí, sl'apíx, r'akú, sl'apúju, v'adró, p'asók, l'ăglá, n'adávna and n'as'í, v'ad'í, m'al'ú, s'am'jú, n'ad'él'a, u s'al'é, sv'atl'éj, b'ar'óm, d'an'ók, s'am'já, d'as'átij.

Jakan'e proper is found throughout most of the South at least sporadically, but it is quite rare southwest of Moscow. We were able to find only one documented dialect in (northeastern) Smolensk,[40] two in Kursk,[41] and none in Kaluga or Orel. Proceeding farther east, it is found with increasing frequency in scattered localities all the way to eastern Siberia. In the East it may have been introduced by settlers from Tula-Rjazan'-Tambov, where this system, once common, is now breaking down, particularly in favor of literary ikan'e.[42] The largest real concen-

tration of jakan'e proper is in the West: southern Pskov and western Kalinin, where it is the typical system, and in Brjansk, where it is found along with the dissimilation of adjacent areas.[43] It is noteworthy that the Belorussian dialects with the same pattern are not contiguous, and that the pattern is still productive in the West (and nowhere else); Pskov dialects in which akan'e is recent or still developing also have jakan'e proper.[44]

2.12. Distribution of Vowels in o Dialects

The systems of pretonic vowels of the dialects differ not only in their phonemic inventories, but also in the restrictions on the occurrence of e, o and a in various environments (we have noted above that the high vowels /i, u/ can occur in all environments in all dialects). These environments may be a) consonantal, which we designate C_ (after hard consonants), C'_C(after soft consonants before hard),C'_C' (between soft consonants), and Š_ (after palatals; it is sometimes convenient to distinguish Š_C from Š_C'), or b) vocalic, depending on the quality of the stressed vowel, e.g. diffuse (i,u), compact (a), noncompact nondiffuse (e, o), rounded (u, o), etc. In view of the similarities in the distributional rules of most five- and four-vowel systems, and the quite different patterns found in many three-vowel systems, we shall discuss separately the distributional restrictions of the o-dialects on the one hand, and those of the a-dialects on the other.

Distribution of /e, o/ and /a/ in o-dialects

2.121.Restriction in consonantal environments

Since /e/ does not regularly appear after hard consonants in the dialects, the least restrictive positions for unstressed vowels are those after palatalized and palatal consonants. In the five-vowel system the maximal vowel distribution is found in C'_C in most dialects (along with C'_C' in a few), and much less frequently in Š_C. However, in order to formulate the most comprehensive distributional rules for the majority of dialects, we shall present the consonantal environments in the following order of increasing restrictions on/e, o/ and /a/: (1) C_, (2) C'_c, (3) Š_ (4) C'_C'

2.1211. Restrictions after hard consonants

The only vowel other than /e/ subject to distributional restrictions after hard consonants is /o/. Such a system is called partial okan'e (nepolnoe okan'e), and reflects an intermediate stage in the development of akan'e. Most dialects which are in the process of losing the opposition between unstressed /o/ and /a/ show an almost random occurrence of /o/, although there does seem to be a tendency to preserve /o/ longer in the vicinity of labial consonants, before stressed /o/ (for this as a regular phenomenon see the vocalic environments below), and in certain morphemes, e.g. the prefix po-.

An example of free variation can be seen in a dialectnear Leningrad where, along with gorbáta, svoím, smotr'éla, oní, odná we also find aní, adnavó, astálas',

skar'é, uvaz'íl, karóvam, mal ód'in'kaj.

In an Irkutsk dialect[2] /o/ occurs only with a contiguous grave (labial or velar) consonant; elsewhere only /a/ occurs, e.g. boká, kopál'i, potóm, pošl'í, topór'ik, ž životá but stalóf, brasáj, ran'n'ík (rodnik).

Partial okan'e is found in dialects on the border between a- and o-dialects. Regular patterning, as in the dialect above, may be more widespread than the data from Irkutsk alone indicate.

2.1212. Restrictions after soft consonants before hard (C'_C)

In some dialects the maximal distinctions of vowels are found after palatal consonants, where /e/, /o/ and /a/ may all occur, but one or more of these vowels is excluded after soft consonants. For example, in a dialect of western Arxangel'sk[3] /a/ may not occur after soft consonants and only /e/ between:

t'opló, v'osná vs. s'erá, vz'elá but only t'ep'ól, d'et'ám, sm'el'á (Comp.), v gr'ez'é.

After palatals all three nondiffuse vowels may occur: žoná vs cenú, česí, šelún, šel'ít', četv'ér'k, and žalát', žarkój, fčará, žal'ézo, žan'íx.

The distributional restrictions after soft consonants in such dialects are of the same kind as in dialects with four pretonic vowel phonemes. These patterns are found in scattered northeastern and west Siberian dialects (Arxangel'sk,[4] Vologda, Udmurt ASSR, Sverdlovsk, Kurgan[5]).

(1) Dialects without /e/

In these dialects the vocalism is the same after both hard and soft consonants. For examples see the four-vowel system with /o/, type (4) above.

(2) Dialects without /o/

In these dialects /o/ occurs only after hard consonants, and in some, after palatals. The following examples are from a southern Arxangel'sk dialect with an opposition /e/ : /a/ after both palatalized and palatal consonants:

sl'ezá, b'erú, f s'el'é, b'er'óš and žel'ónnoj, želúdok, žel'ézo, žen'íx vs. pr'adú, vz'alá, p'at'í, gl'ad'ét' and šalún, časí, žal'ét'.

This pattern is common in the North (Vologda, Kostroma, central Arxangel'sk) and found sporadically in the East-central zone (Gor'kij, Mari ASSR, Tatar ASSR, Orenburg[6]).

(3) Dialects without /a/

In these dialects /a/ can appear only after hard consonants, and, as in a southern Kalinin dialect[7], after palatals:

b'erú and vz'elá, gl'ed'ét' vs. zv'ozdá, f sb̥l'é, t'os'má; cf. časí, žal'ét' and žená, žen'íx,

This pattern is found over a broad belt extending from Kalinin eastward across the Urals.[8] Also compare the five-vowel system after palatals, 2.11 above.

(4) Dialects without /e/ and /a/

In this pattern e and a appear only between soft consonants as free variants of /o/. The sole documentation fo this extremely unusual system is from a Jaroslavl' dialect,[9] but it may occur in other areas.

s'oló, v l'osú, b'ir'ogú, m'on'át', t'os'má, pr'odú, pomóló, p'ot'í, gl'od'ét' and v'al'át, p'et'í, d'is'et'í; after palatals žolúdok, pšon'íca, žon'íx.

The author of the report remarks that in the dialect /o/ after hard consonants is a very high, narrow vowel almost like literary Russian /u/.

There are indications of a tendency to develop a similar pattern in some central dialects where such forms as pr'odú are occasionally quoted in the literature.

(5) Dialects without /o/ and /a/

In this pattern, called ekan'e by Russian scholars, /o/ and /a/ appear only after hard consonants and, in some dialects, after palatals, as in a central Kirov dialect:[10]

s'eló, t'emná, v'edú, fs'eldá and jezík, v'ezát', jegn'áta, jev'íls'a; cf. žoná, žon'íx, ščoká, ščon'áta and žanát, žarkói, šal'ít'

Ekan'e is found over a large part of the North and in Siberia.[11] It has also been observed as a marginal phenomenon in border dialects which are in a transitional stage in the replacement of unstressed /o/ after soft consonants by /a/, e.g. in a Novgorod dialect[12] s'estrá, v'esná, pr'in'eslá, along with s'ostrá, v'osná, pr'in'oslá and s'atrá, v'asná, pr'in'aslá,

(6) Dialects without mid vowels

In this pattern only /a/ can appear after soft consonants, or [e] and [o] are admitted merely as free variants, as in an eastern Siberian dialect:[13]

n'a znám, javó, dv'anácat', b'ar'ót, v'adm'ét', d'afčónka, p'at'í

and vojovál, ujožžáš, ješšó, s'eb'á; cf. after palatals šostój, žoná, čotîr'e, počomú, žon'ílsa

One might expect to find this pattern, called jakan'e in the Northwest (Novgorod, Pskov, Kalinin), too, on the border area of a-dialects with jakan'e proper (see distributional patterns of three-vowel systems) but it is not documented.

(7) Dialects without nondiffuse vowels

In this pattern, called ikan'e /e, o/ and /a/ after soft consonants are all replaced by /i/. The examples are from a Novgorod dialect.[14]

p'iró, v'isná, n'isú, l'ib'ótka, t'ičé (tečót), pot'ir'át' and sv'itój, vz'ilá

In a dialect of Udmurt ASSR[15] e and a can appear after palatals:

pšenó, r'ešetó, pšen'íca, žen'ílsa vs. šagóf, žará, žar'ít', žal'éju

but only s'i strá, r'iká, n'is'í, b'il'ít', pl'isát', t'inú, r'ibína

Ikanie is typical of the Northwest (Novgorod, Leningrad, western Vologda and Karelia), but it is found in a few eastern dialects, too.

2.1213. Restrictions after palatals (Š_)

The data regarding vowels after palatals is very scanty in most studies published before 1950. The following classification does not pretend to be exhaustive; it rather illustrates the great variety of patterns found in the dialects. We have noted that the vocalism after palatals is often different from that after hard or soft consonants. We shall distinguish two types: (1) patterns with the same vocalism is Š_C and Š_C' and (2) those in which one of these environments, usually the latter, imposes restrictions.

Note that these patterns are not correlated with any particular type of five- or four-vowel system. For example, the maximal opposition /e/ : /o/ : /a/ does not seem to be as common after palatals as after soft consonants, but all distinctions of three or two vowels, a single nondiffuse vowel and ikanie are all attested.

(1) Patterns with the same vowels in Š_C and Š_C'

The maximal distinction /e/ : /o/ : /a/ is found in a few northern dialects, e.g. in southern Perm'[16] želála, žen'ítca vs. šostók, žor'ót and pošatnúlsa, sažen'áx, and in western Arxangel'sk[17] želát', česí, pčel'ínoj, žel'ézo

vs. žoná, žon'íx, pšon'íca and žarkój, žal'ét', čad'ít'[18]

In a number of northern and east-central dialects /o/ is excluded after palatals, e.g. in Mari ASSR [19] žená, želát', pšen'íca, žel'ézo vs. žará, časí, žal'ét', čad'ít'.[20]

/e/ does not occur after palatals or is a free variant of /o/ in a large number of northern dialects, concentrated particularly in Arxangel'sk, Vologda, Kostroma and Kirov. The following examples are from western Saratov[21]: žoná, žolánnoj, žon'íx, pšon'íca, žol'ézo vs. žaláṭ', časí, šal'íṭ' and northwestern Vologda:[22] šostók, čovó, žon'íl'i, bol'šov'ík vs. žačéj, žal'ít'. In a Kujbysev dialect[23] some words show free variation of /o/ and /a/ : šostoj, žoná, žon'íx and also šastoj, žaná, žan'íx but other do not: čotir'e, čolnók and žaláł, časú, f šal'é.[24]

/a/ is not permitted after palatals in a few of the northeastern dialects in which it does not occur after soft consonants, e.g. in Kurgan:[25] šelún, želánnoj, česí, pšen'íca, čed'ít' vs, žoná, pčolá, žel'ézo.

In a Kostroma dialect[26] only /e/ may appear after both palatal and palatalized consonants: želúdok, želánnoj, česí, pšen'íca, čed'ít'; cf. s'eló, b'erú, v'ezú, pr'ed'ót, p'et'í.

In a Jaroslavl' dialect[27] /e/ and /a/ are excluded after both palatal and palatalized consonants (see 2.1212(4)): šolún, žolúdok, pšon'íca,

Mid vowels do not occur after palatals in a few east-central dialects, e.g. in Gor'kij[28] žaláṭ', žaná, žan'íx, žal'ét', čad'íṭ'.

(2)Patterns with different vowel distribution is Š_C and Š_C'

In a pattern common among east-central dialects /e/, /o/ and /a/ can all occur before hard consonants but /o/ can not appear before soft consonants, as in a dialect of Tatar ASSR :[29] šestój, žená, želúdik vs. šosnátcitij and šaršávij, žará but cf. pšen'ísnij, lašed'éj and šal'íṭ', žal'ét'.

A Vladimir dialect[31] has a more unusual pattern: /e/ does not occur before hard consonants, but all three vowels can appear in Š_C', e.g. žel'ézo, vs. ježoy'íka and lošad'óf, but žaláṭ', čižaló and žoná.

In a Kurgan dialect[32] only /a/ is allowed before soft consonants: žoltók, čežoĺó vs. šestój, česí and šarí, žaláj, žarkójo but only pšan'íca, žal'ézo, požan'íl'is', šal'ít'.

In a Vologda dialect[33] ŠaC and ŠeC' are in complementary distribution, while /o/ may appear in both positions: šalún, žalát' but šel'ít', žel'ét'; cf. žoná, čotîr'e, žon'íx, pčol'ínoj.

In a common northern pattern ŠoC and ŠeC' are in complementary distribution and /a/ can appear in both positions, e.g. in Vologda[34] žoná, t'ažoló, colújut but žen'íx, žel'ét'; cf. žaráf (žuravl'), oržanójo, žal'îjut.

In a Kostroma dialect[35] /o/ occurs before hard consonants and /a/ before soft, while /e/ occurs before both: žoná, žomčúk, colúju but žan'íx, žal'ézo; cf. mčelá, česî, čeželó, šel'ít', žekčí.

A few scattered dialects do not permit /e/ after palatals. In a southern Arxangel'sk dialect[36] /o/ and /a/ can occur before hard consonants, but only /a/ before soft: žostókoj, colúju and žaráf, aržanój but krošan'ina, ožar'ól'ik, žal'éznoj, žal'él'i.[37]

A Vladimir dialect[38] has only ŠaC, and /e/ and /a/ in free variation before soft consonants: žaná, žalát' and žen'íx, žel'éza or žin'ix, žil'éza.

2.1214. Restrictions between soft consonants

Most dialects do not admit /o/ between soft consonants. In those that do, it is usually confined to a few noun stems. The examples cited most frequently are taken from the old Programs, e.g. in a Sverdlovsk dialect[39] s'or'ga, t'os'ma, d'or'mo but n'es'os, v'ed'ot. Note also the retention of /e/ after the introduction of hard /k, g/ in velar stems: p'ekot, b'er'egom. A Kujbyšev dialect,[40] however, permits /o/ in verbs, too: p'ok'l'i, pr'il'ot'at, past'ot'it' as well as z b'or'ozi, zar'ob'onak, l'op'oska. Cf. also the four-vowel system without /e/ and /a/ (2.1212 (4) above).

Dialects which allow /o/ between soft consonants are scattered through the east-central zone (Vladimir, Mari ASSR, northern Penza, Saratov, Kujbyšev), and more sparsely in the North (Vologda, Kirov).

(1) Dialects without /o/

The pattern in many northern dialects is a regular alternation ŠoC/ŠeC', e.g. sbló, r'oká, t'opló, b'orú and f s'el'é, r'ek'í, t'epl'éje, b'er'óš. The following examples are from an Ivanovo dialect[42]

s'ostrá, l'ogláˊ, n'osút but k s'estr'é, z'eml'ój, n'es'óš; cf. p'atnó, pl'asát' and pr'ad'óm, gl'ad'éla.

Before hard consonants (C'_C) there is some free variation, with /e/ appearing where one would expect /o/: r'eká, v l'esú, sv'etajut along with the more usual r'oká, l'osok, sv'otló.

This alternation is not concentrated in any single dialect area; it is common in east-central dialects (Vladimir, Gor'kij, Tatar ASSR), in pockets further east (Penza, Kujbyšev, Baškir ASSR, Orenburg), in north-central dialects (Ivanovo, Kostroma, Jaroslavl', Kalinin), and is found sporadically in the Northwest (western Vologda, Arxangel'sk and Leningrad).[43]

(2) Dialects without /a/

A number of northeastern dialects do not admit /a/ between soft consonants (Arxangel'sk, Vologda, Kirov, Perm', Mari ASSR). Many of these dialects also exclude stressed /a/ between soft consonants (see Stressed Vocalism, 1.253). The following examples are from a western Vologda dialect[44]

p'et'í, d'es'et'í, gl'ed'ét'; cf. pr'adú, p'aták and, after palatals žalát', šal'ít, žal'ét'. This dialect shows a high degree of morphological leveling, e.g. s'éno, na s'én'e but y'ít'er, sv'ít'it, jís't'; cf. also such forms as mojá, čjoj. Note the grammatical role of /o/ in noun stems and /e/ in verbsa s'oló, t'oplá but n'esú, b'erú. The vowel alternation in s'oló - f s'elé can not be considered automatic, since /o/ does occur between soft consonants in this dialect: s'or'gá, t'os'má.

(3) Dialects without /o/ and /a/

Many dialects admit only /e/ between soft consonants, as in Tot'ma (central Vologda): s'oló, gn'otú, c'otír'o vs. t'anú, tr'asú, p'atnó and b'er'egóf, d'elá but only f s'el'é, gn'et'ót, c'ety'érk and t'en'í, tr'es'ót like b'er'ekc'i, pl'ec'ó.

(Cf. also the system with ekan'e, 2.112(3).)

This pattern is found all over the North, although it is uncommon in the Northwest.

(4) Dialects without mid vowels

In some dialects /e/ and /o/ between soft consonants are replaced by /i/, as in a dialects of southeastern Vladimir:

v'in'cá, l'is'n'ícin (deriv. of lesnik) vs. p'at'í, gl'ajé t'; cf. s't'ená, s'kl'etá r and sl'ozá, b'orú.

In these dialects /a/ is the pretonic alternant of stressed /a/, representing etymological a. Although none of our materials documents this pattern unambiguously, it is indicated without examples in the Atlas for 11 points in Vladimir and 4 in neighboring oblasts (some of these are a-dialects).[45]

Incomplete data suggest this type in a northern Penza dialect[46]

nar'ad'ít vs. p'ik'ót, z'il'ónoj, na s't'in'é, cv'is't'í; cf. v'odút, jovó, r'eká, dv'ená cit' and zapr'ag'ót.

This pattern seems to be confined to east-central border dialects from Kalinin eastward to Penza

(5) Dialects without nondiffuse vowels

In some dialects /e, o/ and /a/ are all excluded between soft consonants, where only /i/ may appear (cf. the pattern of modified jakan'e in a-dialects, discussed below). The examples are from an eastern Vladimir dialect:[47]

v'id'ót, s'istr'é, m'in'át' and p'it'i, gl'id'ét'; cf. v'odú, p'osók, b'edá, tv'etám'i and l'agúška, pl'asál, but after palatals žal'ét', f čas't'î, š šas'l'ívij. (Cf. also the four-vowel systems with o/e in complementary distribution and without /e/, 2.112(1) and (4) above).[48]

This pattern, like the preceding one, is found in the east-central border area, and probably developed from it through the generalization of /i/, i.e. the elimination of /a/ between soft consonants. It is also found in some northwestern dialects.

2.13. Distribution of Vowels in a Dialects.

An a-dialect has been defined (2.113above) as one in which /o/ is excluded after hard consonants (i.e. replaced by /a/ as in literary Russian). Since /i/ and /u/ can occur in all environments, and /a/ after hard consonants, restrictions on pretonic vowel distribution in these dialects pertain to /a/ and its variants, and /e/ in a four-vowel system, in the positions C'_C, C'_C' and Š_. The position after palatals is relatively unimportant in a-dialects. If /a/ appears after palatals in a given dialect even in a small number of lexical items, e.g. žil'ét but žar'ít; then this environment is concomitant with that after hard consonants. This seems to be the case in most southern dialects. For example, in a dialect of southern Moscow obl.[1] /a/ between soft consonants is replaced by /i/ (see below, modified jakan'e) but both /a/ and /i/ are found in the position Š_C': žaná, pašanó, šastój and g žin'e, žin'ítca, pašain'íca, šis't'í, zil'éza but also žan'ítca, pašan'íca, šas't'i. Likewise, in dialects in which the stressed vowel imposes various restrictions on /a/ (see the following section, 2.3) the distribution of /a/ after palatals is often different from that after palatalized consonants. On the other hand, in some of the more archaic southern dialects the same vowel distribution is found after both C' and Š.[2]

2.131. Distribution in consonantal environments

2.1311. Vowels after hard consonants

The occurrence of /u/ where it is not etymologically justified is limited in the dialects to a specific number of lexical items, some of which are quite common, particularly in the West, e.g. bul'šój, samuvár, lupáta, su mnój, utn'ál. Note that /u/ usually appears in the vicinity of grave consonants,[3] and it is always a reflex of etymological o. This phenomenon is known as ukan'e. (Cf. the restriction on /o/ in a Siberian dialect cited above, 2.1211) On the other hand, in the east-central dialects where ukanie in antepretonic syllables is widespread (ugur'éc, upozdát', ut n'egó, uz'erá), it is quite rare in pretonic syllables, although the Atlas does quote such forms as pun'átna, subrál, kus't'úm, pustój (Imper.).[4]

2.1312. Distribution of /a/ after soft consonants before hard (C'_C)

(1) Ekan'e, in which e is the variant of /a/ after all soft consonants, has been discussed already (see 2.13 (1)).

(2) Ikan'e

In this system /a/ after soft consonants is replaced by /i/, as in the new literary norm,[5] and its diffusion in dialects with the most diverse underlying systems can often be ascribed to the influence of the schools or urban speech. For example, in eastern Smolensk (r. Andreevskoe) the traditional dialects have the Žizdra type of disimilative jakan'e (see 2.1322 below), but in the villages nearer Moscow ikan'e is very common; the occurrence of /i/ rather than the expected /a/ is not susceptible to any phonological or morphological rules: v'azú, n'av'ésta, t'ab'é, tr'as't'í and v'idú, n'id'éla, m'in'é, tr'is't'í are all attested in the same dialect.[6]

Ikan'e can also be found in dialect speech in areas located a great distance from either literary center, such as Rostov obl.:[7]

d'idí, cv'itî, pr'imúja, r'iku, z'irnó, p'itnó, r'idám'i, v'isná, as well as p'it'î, u ğr'iz'é, str'il'át'.

And in a dialect of r. Braĭsk, Irkutsk:[8]

l'ižît, d'iržĭ, pagl'ižu, v'irnútca, jivó, p'itnó, xl'ibá, pr'igáš (sg.) and s'im'jú, t'ik'ót, pal'it'ú.

There are at least three compact areas of ikan'e. One is the old uezd Medyn' in northern Kaluga, and it extends northward into northwestern Moscow obl. Here ikan'e seems to have developed out of other patterns, especially modified jakan'e (see 2.1313) by way of generalizing /i/ after all soft consonants. Ikan'e is also found east of Moscow in the same general area with ekan'e, of which it may represent a later stage.[9] Another area is a group of east-central dialects centered in Mordva ASSR and adjacent regions (Gor'kij, Penza, Ul'janovsk).[10] A third area comprises some of the so-called Cossack dialects of Rostov, Volgograd, Krasnodar and Stavropol'.[11] Ikan'e is well attested in Siberia, too, but not enough information is available for a geographical classification of the Siberian dialects. However, Selišcev's characterization of ikan'e has been observed in Tomsk, Krasnojarsk, Irkutsk, Čita and Amur oblasts.[12]

8

2.1313. Restrictions on /a/ between soft consonants (C'_C')

(1) Modified ekan'e

In a few dialects /a/ has the variant [e] only between soft consonants. The examples are from a western Vladimir dialect;[13] note that clusters of a hard and a soft consonant are treated as hard:

[um'arlá, b'adá, v l'asú, p'akl'î] but [d'et'é, t'ep'ér', sab'er'óm, v'es'ólaj].

This pattern is found in areas where neighboring dialects have only [a] or only [e] in all environments.[14]

(2) In an uncommon type of vocalism [e] is the nondiffuse vowel after soft consonants before hard, but between soft consonants nondiffuse vowels are excluded and only /i/ occurs, as in a Voronež dialect:[15]

[cv'etí, pr'edú, s'eló, s'estrâ] but [p'ikl'î, v ğn'iz'd'é, str'il'ájut, b'ir'óza] and in C'_Š [l'ižú].

A Penza dialect has the same restriction between soft consonants, but free variation of [a] and [e] before hard:[16] [s'eló, v'edrâ] and [m'astá, d'alóf] but [l'it'át, f s'il'é, p'it'î].

Similar patterns are found in scattered east-central dialects where literary ikan'e is spreading; here [e] may represent a transitional stage between jakan'e and ikan e.[17]

(3) Modified jakan' e (umerennoe jakan'e)

In this system the nondiffuse vowel in C'_C is /i/, but in C'_C' only /i/ occurs, as in the preceding type. The examples are from a Kujbyšev dialect.[18]

sl'apíx, v'arstí, b'arú, v'azút, d'alóf, javó, v'asná, t'atrátka but p'it'í, pr'id'í (prjadi), nab'il'ú, s'im'jú, v gr'iz'é, l'it'él'i, t'il'ónak, n'is'óm, gl'id'át, d'it'á mi,

A Rjazan' dialect[19] shows the same pattern with different morphophonemic relations; here /i/ also appears as the pretonic alternant of stressed /a/: s'aló, m'astá, n'asú but pr'idú, v'izát, r'idí; cf. n'is'í, nar'id'ít. (cf. the four-vowel system with a/e in complementary distribution, 2.112 (2), with s'oló, pr'edú.

Modified jakan' e is found in a longitudinal belt extending from Kalinin, Moscow and Tula oblasts eastward to Kujbyšev and Saratov. It is the predominant

system in Tula.[20] (Jakan'e proper is typical of the area to the northwest, and dissimilation to the west.) Even in dialects near Moscow it persists in spite of the influence of literary ikan'e.[21] On the other hand, in the so-called archaic dialects around Voronež, where the original dissimilatory system is breaking down and there is a tendency to generalize a or e before hard consonants and e or i before soft, no real system of modified jakan'e is developing.[22] This does not seem to be a productive type.

2.132. Distribution in vocalic environments

Often the distribution of pretonic vowels depends upon the quality of the stressed vowel. In o -dialects the mid vowels /e,o/ may be eliminated in favor of /a/; in a-dialects /a/ may be replaced after hard consonants by central reduced /ɑ/ and after soft consonants by /i/. The restrictions of the unstressed pretonic vowels are either

a) assimilatory, with /a/ before stressed /á/ and /o/ before /ó/, i.e. vadá/vodój,

b) dissimilatory, with /a/ before /í, ú/ or /i/ before /á/, i.e. vodá/vadí, s'aló/s'ilá, or

c) a combination of both: vodój/vadá, vadí and l'at'át, l'at'ím/l'it'ét'

In a given dialect these distributional restrictions may be further modified by the quality of the consonantal environment: C'_C or C'_C'. The great diversity of assimilative and dissimilative patterns of pretonic vocalism in the dialects is one of the most characteristic features of Russian and Belorussian as opposed to the other Slavic languages.

The classification presented here differs from the conventional Russian one in that the interpretation of the data is strictly synchronic (cf. the discussion of z'arnó/ z'irnóm under morphological restrictions below). Furthermore, in some respects this description does not agree with that of R. I. Avanesov in Russkaja dialektologija. However, the latter serves as a convenient point of departure in much the same way N. N. Durnovo's pioneering classification of 1917[23] served later investigators. The discovery of new types[24] and the increasing precision of published material has considerably modified Durnovo's original classification.

The systematic limitation of unstressed vowels according to the rules given below is of widespread occurrence, though by no means universal. A very large number, perhaps a majority of southern dialects have a mixture of two or more systems, often with a great deal of free variation. No attempt has been made to classify dialects which lack regularity; an understanding of such dialects requires a detailed knowledge of their actual forms and history. In some cases, differences are due to dialect mixture or the influence of neighboring dialects, and in others to the superimposition of features of the literary language. The general classification should, nevertheless, be regarded as fundamentally valid.

2.1321. Restrictions on mid vowels (especially /o/)

In a number of o-dialects the mid vowels /o/ after hard consonants and /e, o/ after soft consonants do not appear before certain stressed vowels. There are five different types, four of which are assimilative, with /o/ before /ó/ and /a/ before /á/, and one dissimilative, with /o/ before /á/ and /a/ before /í, ú/. Most of these dialects show analogous restrictions on /e, o/ after soft consonants, but the distribution is here less regular and subject to free variation of a/e. In the chart below a + sign denotes the admission of mid vowels, and the - sign denotes neutralization in favor of /a/.

	Before stressed				
	í	ú	é	ó	á
1. Assimilative akan'e	+	+	+	+	-
2. Gdov type assimilation	-	-	+	+	-
3. Assimilative rounding	-	+	-	+	-
4. Assimilative okan'e	-	-	-	+	-
5. Poina type dissimilation	-	-	+	+	+

(1) Assimilative akan'e

In this pattern the pretonic mid vowel o/e is replaced by /a/ only before stressed /á/. The examples after soft consonants are from a western Vladimir dialect (those after hard consonants are posited on the basis of the notation in the Atlas).

vadá, kapát' and r'aká, sl'azájut, m'astám'i but before other stressed vowels vodí, tonút', v vod'é and n'osút, s'ostrí, v'ezl'í, dv'onósto, sl'opój, s'estr'é, f s'el'é

This type of vocalism is attested in a few northwestern, east-central and Siberian transitional dialects.[25]

(2) Gdov type assimilation

This pattern admits the mid vowels o/e only before stressed mid vowels. It is attested only in a small group of villages in northwestern Pskov and adjacent Leningrad, from which these examples are drawn:[26]

vodój, domóf, v vod'é, pom'éššik and v'eslóm, v'ez'óš, z'eml'ój, pr'ed'óš but zavút, nas'í', vadá, atsúsvuja (3 sg.) and v'azú, z'aml'í, s'ab'á

(3) Assimilative rounding

In this pattern /o/ can occur only before the rounded stressed vowels /ú/ and /ó/; before other vowels it is replaced by /a/. The examples are from a dialect of central Kalinin,[27]

stolóm, pošól, k stolú, pojdú and v'osnój, v'osnú but stalí, pašl'í, na stal'é, v vad'é, vadá

After soft consonants [e] is a frequent variant of both /o/ and /a/: r'okój/r'ekój, v'asní/v'esní, b'adí/b'edí.

Although this type of vocalism is documented in only one small central region,[28] one might expect to find it in other border areas. A Siberian dialect with partial okan'e shows both /o/ and /a/ before all stressed vowels, but /o/ predominates before /ú/ and /ó/, and /a/ before /á/:[29]

mogú, v godú, vorót, kolxós, kovó but s nagám, pradál'i, tavdá along with tanúla, xaróša and vošlá, popála; cf. before front vowels dvorí, xod'ít', vopšé, kon'éšno and pašl'í, bajís's'a, pajéxal, xaladn'é (Comp.)

(4) Assimilative okan'e

In this pattern /o/ appears only before stressed /ó/. Unfortunately, the most specific reference to this type in the literature (in Kalinin)[30] presents no data, but it is the underlying pattern in several transitional dialects. The alternations involved are za stolóm/na stal'é, stalá, stalí, k stalú and possibly za s'olóm/is s'alá, f s'al'é or f s'el'é,

The Atlas does not mention this type in east-central dialects, but it is attested in Saratov,[31] e.g. xarošó, malod'óži, patolók but lažis', vadí, zavút, kašú, daždéj, kasá.

In a Vladimir dialect[32] the rule of assimilation applies only after soft consonants; after hard consonants /o/ may appear before any stressed vowel. After soft consonants before /í, é/ and /á/ the mid vowel is /e/.

sl'ozá, b'orú but sl'ezá, sl'exí and b'er'óš; cf. bojús', močí(Inf.), kogó, poskor'éj, sosná

(5) Polna type dissimilation

In this pattern /o/ and /e/ may appear before /á/ as well as before mid vowels, but not before the high vowels /í, ú/, where they are replaced by /a/. The region in Pskov where this is attested adjoins the area of Gdov assimilation (type 2 above).[33]

koróvu, dolój, pomr'ót, zaxot'él, čalov'ék, nogá, pošlá but karíta, fskacíl, xad'í, vadú and after soft consonants v'odró, n'e xód'im, joná, s'ekr'ét, m'está, s'emjá but l'así, pr'iv'adí, n'a núžna, gl'ažú

2.1322. Restrictions on /a/ before compact vowels

In a number of a-dialects (and a few western border o-dialects)[34] /a/ before stressed compact vowels has a variant [ɑ] after hard consonants and is replaced by /i/ after soft consonants, e.g. vadá/vadój and s'ilá/s'aló. In addition to this dissimilative pattern there is also an assimilative one in which /a/ after soft consonants appears only before stressed /á/, e.g. s'iló/s'alá. Patterns in which the intervening consonants has a restrictive role will be discussed later.

The subtypes of pretonic dissimilation differ in the definition of compactness. This may include only /á/, /á/ and unrounded /é/, /á/ and lax /é, ó/ (in a seven-vowel system), or all nonhigh vowels /á, é, ó/ (in a five-vowel system). In the chart + signifies the presence of /a/ and - its exclusion.

	Before stressed					
	í ú	ê, ô	é, ó		á	
1) Assimilative jakan'e	-		-		+	
2) Žizdra type dissimilation	+		+		-	
3) Vitebsk type dissimilation	+		-	+	-	
4) Obojan'/Zadonsk type dissimilation	+	+	-		-	
5) Don type dissimilation	+		-		-	

(1) Assimilative jakan'e

In this pattern pretonic /a/ after soft consonants appears only before

stressed /á/, e.g. z'aml'á but z'iml'í, z'iml'é, ziml'ój. Although one dialect in Moscow obl. and one in Rjazan' are said to be of this type, only for the latter have even fragmentary data been published.[35] Furthermore, in central dialects with partial akan'e (see the preceding section, 2.1321) there does not seem to be any tendency to develop such a pattern. These transitional dialects often show jakan'e proper (see 2.113 (3)).

(2) Žizdra type dissimilation

In this pattern /a/ after hard consonants has a variant [ɑ] before stressed /á/. Thus, in a western Kaluga dialect[37] vadóju, dvarów, kaléna, pašl'í, trawú, targújit' but dačká, daját' (3 pl.), staršaná,

In some western dialects pretonic [ɑ] may be assimilated to a preceding /u/, e.g. rukuvá, mužuká, duruká but durakóf, ǧusak'í. This phenomenon does not seem to be systematic in any dialect. Another sporadic phenomenon in these dialects is the raising of [ɑ] to [y], resulting in a partial neutralization of /a/ and /i/. The examples are from the Kaluga dialect above: dyžžá, ynú, symá, ǧlyzá along with baǧátaja, stat'já, pastáv'il.

Likewise, after soft consonants /a/ before /á/ is replaced by /i/. The examples are from a Brjansk dialect.[38]

cv'atí, u sn'aǧu, n'as'í, pab'al'ú, b'ar'ét', v'asló, n'as'óm but v'isná, r'iká, d'it'ám, r'ib'áti

Some exceptions were noted, as in most dialects with this pattern, and may represent analogical leveling in the stems of nouns or verbs: st'aklá, u m'aškáx, n'aslá, l'aǧlá and sv'il'í, r'ikój, v'idróm.

A few dialects have Žizdra dissimilation after soft consonants but not after hard. In Stavropol', for example, most dialects do not have reduction of unstressed vowels: raskažú, padašlá. Hence, in a dialect near Stavropol' city: d'ilá, v'izlá but badražán (baklažan), pradaváj.[39]

This type of vocalism is western. It is typical of Smolensk, eastern Brjansk, western Kaluga and adjacent areas, contiguous with Belorussian dialects with the same pattern.[40] Subsequent resettlement has introduced it as far away as Stavropol',

Orenburg, the Ukraine and Siberia.[41] In remote places, however, it readily yields to the influence of neighboring dialects or literary Russian. An example of the latter is a Smolensk dialect in which /i/ often appears before all stressed vowels:

s'istrám'a, žiná, p'ičá (Npl.), d'id'já, vs. janí, tr'as't'í, u ǧr'az'í, n'asú, jamú, n'av'ésta, s'as't'ór but also u ǧr'iz'í, v'idú, u s'il'é

(3) Vitebsk type dissimilation

In this system /a/ does not occur before stressed /á/ and /é/. The pattern is well known in Belorussian dialects (thence the name) and was posited first for Russian by A. N. Gvozdev[42] and later documented by V. D. Bondaletov from a Smolensk dialect.[43]

b'ar'óza, v'ad'óm, jažóm, t'ažólij but na s'in'é, ul'it'él'i, v'iz'éš, d'ir'érvn'a, s't'ip'énnij, d'ešévl'a and n'isiá, r'iká, pr'imája, žiná, ciná, s'im'já, d'is'átij

Vitebsk dissimilation is very rare in Russian dialects in spite of the simplicity of the distributional rules. This pattern is transitional to the Sudža type discussed below with /a/ before hard Ćo but /i/ before soft C'e (see 2.13323).

(4a) Obojan' type dissimilation

In this pattern the compact vowels are /a/ and lax /e, o/, as opposed to /i, u/ and tense /ê, ô/. Before compact vowels /a/ has a central variant [ɑ] after hard consonants and is replaced by /i/ after soft, e.g. vadá, platók, klad'ém vs. vadój, v vad'é, stalí, našú. In dialects where the distinction between tense and lax has been lost [ɑ] becomes phonemically distinct from [a], e.g. kakój (Masc.), vs. kakój (Fem.). (See stressed vocalism)

The following examples are from a Kursk dialect of the 19th century.[44] Although no special symbol was used for /ô/, the existence of tense vowels is indicated by the consistent transcription of i before stressed e, ë and falling o, and ja before ě and neoacute ô.

m'adí, tv'atí, p'ak'í, ǧl'ad'í, na r'akú, na s'alú, v'al'ú, sm'ajútca, v'al'ela, ǧl'ad'et', čarn'êja (černeet), s'astr'ê, s'alô, dal'akô, p'askôv, t'aklô, v'id'an'jô but v'id'é (3sg.), d'it'éj, pa n'im'éck'i, sl'ipói (Masc.), p'itók, l'isók, st'iblóm, z'il'ónai, r'ib'ónak, d'in'ók, r'iká, pl'isála, d'is'átai, z'iml'á, v'il'át'

The system is now breaking down in all dialects, since few of them have even a moderately well preserved inventory of seven stressed vowels. The following examples from a Belgorod dialect are more typical.[45] (No forms with stressed /í, ú/ were cited.) Note that once tense /è, ô/ and lax /é, ó/ begin to fall together, pretonic /i/ and /a/ are in opposition before mid vowels under morphologically determined conditions, but /i/ appears consistently before /a/.

at n'av'ês't'i, sl'apôju, s'alô but b'idá, v'isná, s'ičás, d'is'átai;
cf. after the loss of the tense vowels na st'akl'é, n'ab'ésnaj, kal'asó, st'akló, z'arnó and k n'iv'és't'i, d'ir'évn'a, kal'isóm, za s'ilóm, p'itók, z'il'ónaj, r'ib'ónak

Much more common is a system of five stressed vowels (we include here dialects in which /è/ and /ò/ are confined to a small number of words or appear only in the speech of older persons), as in another Belgorod dialect:[46]

s'istrá, m'istám'i and s'idój (Fem.), z'irnóm, b'ir'óza, z'il'ónaj, v'id'êm, d'it'éj but s'aló, z'arnó, z'aml'óju, n'ad'él'a, ul'at'él'i

Obojan' dissimilation or a reflex of it in dialects with five stressed vowel phonemes is found in the area between Lipeck and Belgorod (including adjacent parts of Kursk and Voronež). The only other dialect of this type known to us, near Odessa, Ukr. SSR, originated in Belgorod.[47] Most of these dialects have the same type of dissimilation after hard consonants too, but not so consistently, and in some [ɑ] occurs only before stressed /á/: travá, vs. takój, vaz'm'éš. Others lack [ɑ] altogether (cf. the remarks on Don dissimilation below).

(4b) Zadonsk type dissimlation

In this pattern, which is closely related to the preceding one, /a/ has a variant [e] before stressed /ê, ó/ and /á/. Although recent fieldwork indicated that it no longer exists as a homogeneous type,[48] it is well attested in several older studies, and we can presume that it broke down after the loss of a contrast between /ê, ô/ and /é, ó/. The following examples are from a southern Lipeck dialect:[49]

b'alí, sv'atím, z'aml'í, l'ažýt, n'as'í, jamú, n'a búdu, l'ačú, l'at'êl, k s'astr'ê, n'a sm'êjs'i, s'alô, n'a stôj, sl'azôju but tv'et'é (cvetêt), d'er'évna, t'eb'é, n'e skóra, l'esók, p'eróm, z'el'ónaj, b'er'óza, s'estrá, n'e ták, v'elá, l'ežát', p'ečál', m'en'á, s'em'já

These dialects were located in the former Zadonsk and Zemljansk uezdy, Voronež, now in Lipeck and Voronež oblasts. If the pretonic vocalism were maintained after the loss of the tense vowels one would expect to find a morphologically conditioned opposition /a/ : /e/ before mid vowels, e.g. s'adój (Fem.) vs. s'edój (Masc.), s'aló vs. za s'elóm, etc.

(5) Don type dissimilation

In this system /a/ can occur only before the stressed high vowels /î, ú/, as in a Rostov dialect:[50]

b'adî, jamšík, n'as'î, p'at'í, b'ir'ağú, n'asú, s'am'jú, sm'ajútca

but ğl'id'ét', s'istr'é, s'iló, p'isók, v'id'ót', r'iká, pl'isála, p'ičát',

This type of vocalism is confined to the lower Don basin (Rostov and Stavropol').[51] None of these dialects has tense /ê, ô/ or dissimilation after hard consonants, i.e. [a] before stressed /á/.

2.133"Complex'distributional restrictions on /a/ after soft consonants

In many southern dialects the distribution of /a/ after soft consonants is determined both by the consonantal environment, i.e. the nature of the intervening consonant (C'_C vs. C'_C') and by the quality of the stressed vowel, e.g. n'asú but p'it'jú, s'aló but v'id'ót, s'alá but l'it'át, etc. The following chart summarizes the distribution of /a/ in the major types. The + sign signifies the occurrence of /a/ and the - sign its exclusion in favor of /i/; the ± denotes the existence of subtypes with different distribution of /a/ before mid vowels, or a differentiation of tense and lax mid vowels.

	C'aC			C'aC'		
before stressed	î,ú	é,ó	á	î,ú	é,ó	á
Dissimilative modified jakan'e	+	±	-	-	-	-
Modified dissimilative jakan'e	+	+	+	+	±	-
Modified assimilative jakan'e	+	+	+	-	-	+
Assimilative-dissimilative jakan'e	+	+	+	+	±	+
Sudža type dissimilation	+	+	-	+	-	-

2.1331. Dissimilative modified jakan'e

In this system /a/ cannot occur between soft consonants (cf. modified jakan'e, 2.1313 (3)) or before stressed /á/ (cf. dissimilation, 2.1322). Two varieties can be distinguished according to the distribution of /a/ before mid vowels.

(1) Western type

In this pattern /a/ may appear before hard consonants + /ó/, as in a Kursk dialect:[52]

tv'atí, čamú, s'astrú, s'adój, p'atróva but l'ixká, t'iplá and z'iml'í, p'ir'v'iz'í, m'in'šúju, pas't'il'ú, pal'it'él, z'il'ónaj, t'ir'óm, d'il'át' (3pl.), d'is'átaj

Like many other dialects, this one has generalized /i/ in certain prefixes and proclitics: n'i búdu, cir'iz dóm.

This pattern is uncommon, but it has been documented in scattered dialects from the west to the Urals.[53] Since several of them are located near the Kaluga dialect cited below, it is quite likely that this type of vocalism originated in the following one, after the loss of tense /ô/, through the generalization of /a/ before any stressed /ó/ after hard consonants.

(2) Southern type

In this pattern /a/ may appear only before tense /ô/, but not before /ó/. It is attested in one dialect of r. Ul'janovo, Kaluga; unfortunately the published report contains no data.[54] The following examples are posited on the basis of the rules stated in the report: b'adí, k s'alú, p'arô vs. p'iróm, b'idá. After hard consonants this dialect has dissimilative akan'e only before stressed /á/: kasá but kasój (masc.), kasôj (Inst.), v vad'ê, vadí, vadú.

2.1332. Dialects with C'aC before all stressed vowels

Three different kinds of systems are grouped together here because they share one important feature: the restrictions on /a/ apply only between soft consonants, where we can distinguish between assimilatory, dissimilatory and combined rules of distribution.

2.13321. Modified assimilative jakan'e

In this system /a/ between soft consonants may occur only before stressed /á/. The examples are from a dialect of western Penza.[55]

r'abíx, zv'azdí, n'asút', sl'apúju, n'amój, s'aló, pam'arlá, ar'axám'j and sm'ajátca, d'as'átaj but napr'id'í, p'it'í, smijútca, sp'išú, u t'ipl'é, ǧl'id'éla, n'is'óm, d'in'ók

A neighboring dialect frequently shows C'iC'á, indicating a development in the direction of modified jakan'e (2.1313 (3) above): s'im'já, sm'in'ál, especially

in stems which lack a stress shift to the alternating vowel, e.g. v'in'cá l'is', kar'in'ja like v'in'éc, kórin'.

In a Saratov dialect [56] /i/ often appears before hard consonants before stressed vowels other than /á/ as well; this pattern is transitional to the assimilative one described above (2.1322 (1)):

b'adú, s'aló, s'astrá, l'asá and s'am'já, d'as'átii vs. n'is'í, f s'al'é, n'is'óm but also f sn'igú, sl'ipíx, s'iló,

The modified assimilative system is found in a number of widely scattered dialects in a wedge-shaped area between Moscow and western Saratov, particularly in northern Rjazan' and Penza.[57]

2.13322. Modified dissimilative jakan'e

In this system the principle of dissimilation is observed: /a/ between soft consonants may occur before /í, ú/ but never before /á/. Three varieties can be distinguished according to the distribution of /a/ before mid vowels.

(1) Krasnaja Gora type

In this pattern /a/ between soft consonants is excluded only before stressed /á/, as in a Kaluga dialect:[58]

b'adí, s'im'aríx, p'askú, pr'adú, s'aló, tvajaǧó, t'amná, pl'asála and n'as'í, p'at'í, as'an'jú, sm'ajúts'a, p'ak'ét', ǧl'ad'ét', z'al'ónij, v'ad'órnij but z'iml'á, d'is'átij.

(2) Nižnjaja Zalegošč type

In this pattern /a/ between soft consonants may appear only before stressed /í, ú/ and tense /ê, ô/, as in the old description of the Nižnjaja Zalegošč (Orel)[59] dialect: n'av'êstaj, n'ad'êl', b'as'êdu, pab'adn'êjši, pl'ačô but r'ičéj, d'ir'évn'a, b'il'én'k'a, z'il'ónaj, v'is'ólaj. However, we have no data for any modern dialect with this pattern and tense vowel phonemes; even in the Zalegošč dialect /ô/ is now an archaism, and the distribution of /a/ before mid vowels is morphologically conditioned (see morphological restrictions below, 2.14):

v'arstí, b'arú, v'asnój, s'astrá and pr'in'as'i, v'ad'í, pab'al'í, f s'al'é, v'al'éla but s'im'éjnij, v'iz'ét', z'il'ónaja, ub'ir'óx, d'it'ám.

(3) Krasnaja Jaruga type

In this pattern /a/ between soft consonants may occur only before stressed /í, ú/ but not before mid vowels, as in a dialect near Rjazanʹ city:[60]

tʹvʹatí, bʹarútʹ, aǧlʹanúl sa, knʹaž̌óṅ, tvʹatóč̌kʹi, nadʹavájut and pʹatí, sʹadʹítʹ, pasʹmʹajú but dʹirʹévnʹi, nʹivʹéstu, prʹvʹizʹót, lʹibʹóduška, vʹilʹič̌atʹ.

Modified assimilative jakanʹe is found in a few scattered dialects in Kursk, Voronež and chiefly Orel and Rjazanʹ.[61] Most of them are poorly documented or show many inconsistencies.

2.13323. Assimilative-dissimilative jakanʹe

In these vocalic patterns three principles govern the occurrence of pretonic /a/:

a) the rule of consonantal environments, i.e. /a/ may appear after hard consonants before any stressed vowel,

b) the rule of dissimilation, i.e. between soft consonants /a/ may not appear before stressed /í, ú/, and

c) the rule of assimilation, i.e. between soft consonants /a/ does occur before stressed /á/.

The varieties of this system differ in the distribution of /a/ between soft consonants before the stressed mid vowels /ê, ô/ and /é, ó/.

(1) Orexovka type jakanʹe

In this pattern /a/ is not permitted between soft consonants before stressed /é/ not from etymological ě, e.g. glʹadʹét but nʹisʹétʹ. Since no dialects with this pattern have tense /ê, ô/, the distribution of /a/ is morphologically conditioned and will be discussed later.

(2) Kultuki jakanʹe

In this pattern /a/ between soft consonants may appear before any stressed vowel except /é/. It might be included with the systems in which the stressed vowel is the only restrictive factor (see 2.1322), but we follow tradition in classifying it with the other vocalic patterns in which the rules of assimilation and dissimilation apply. The following examples are from a western Saratov dialect:[62]

v'ad'í, l'as'n'ík, s'am'jí, zm'ajú, v'y'ar'xú, id'd'al'ú and v'as'ólaj, d'at'ónak, p'an'ók, tr'as'ótca, d'as'átaj, p'as'n'á (Npl.), l'at'át', s'ar'pám'i but b'iz jétava, k s'istr'é, v'is'él'ja, v'is't'éj, n'iv'ésta, a gr'iz'é, l'it'él'i,

In a Kalinin dialect[63] e is a frequent variant of both /a/ and /i/:

gl'ad'í, d'is'at'í, p'akl'í, l'ažú, s'am'jój, gr'ab'óš, p'ačóm, tr'as'ótca, gl'ad'át, r'ab'áty and d'it'éj, gl'id'ét', v m'išk'é, d'išévl'i but also gl'ed'él, p'er'én'n'aja, d'ir'ev'én', fp'er'ót, d'er'óm, m'ešók, sp'er'vá, l'et'át, s't'es'n'áitca .

Some dialects with this pattern show lexical or morphological generalization of /a/ or /i/.[64]

Kultuki jakan'e, as many of the types of pretonic vocalism, was named for the village (in Rjazan') where it was first identified. It is scattered over a wide area from Voronež to Kujbyšev, and in isolated villages even in the Ukraine (Černovici) and Kalinin, and in a fairly compact group of dialects in eastern Rjazan', Penza and western Saratov.[65]

(3) Novoselki jakan'e

In this pattern pretonic /a/ does not occur between soft consonants before the lax mid vowels /é, ó/. The examples are from a Voronež dialect.[66]

d'al'ója, b'ar'í, šas't'í, pad'al'ú, d'ar'úška, v'az'd'ê, v s'al'ê, v'is'al'êj, pl'ačô, ujažája (3 sg.), z'il'an'já, dačar'á, lašad'ám but u m'in'é, napr'id'ém, d'išévl'i, r'ib'ónka, v'ir'ófkaj, t'il'ónka.

In a dialect of northern Rjazan'[67] e is a frequent variant of both /a/ and /i/: y'adrô, žan'ê, na m'ažê and r'ib'énkam, z'il'éna, v'id'érka but also gn'ezdô, p'ek'éš, b'er'éska, v'es'ólaj . In a nearby Vladimir dialect e appears only as a variant of /i/: d'et'éj, d'er'évn'a, t'ep'ér' and z'eml'ój, sab'er'óm, v'as'ólaj . This dialect is transitional to the pattern of jakan'e proper (see typology, 2.113).

The Novoselki system with stressed vowel phonemes /ê, ô/ is found in two areas: in a cluster of villages in northeastern Rjazan' (including one in adjacent Vladimir) and in a small group of dialects in northern Voronež. There is no reason to presume any historical affinity between these two groups of dialects; for example, several of the Rjazan' dialects have stressed C'éC corresponding to C'óC in other

dialects and literary Russian (cf. the examples v'id'érka, b'er'éska quoted above). The same pattern with five stressed vowels is found in the same areas, and also in Penza and Kujbyšev.[69]

(4) Kidusovo jakan'e

In this pattern /a/ is not permitted between soft consonants before stressed mid vowels. None of these dialects for which data is available has /ê/ or /ô/. The examples are from a Krasnodar dialect.[71]

b'ağ'ít'a, uv'azl'í, pram'ažú and sm'ajáls'i, s tr'am'á, d'at'm'ám'i but u s'istre'é, ğl'id'él, s'ib'é, b'ir'ót, ijó, čižólaja.

A few exceptions were noted: d'ifšáta, v'az'ót and gn'izdó,

In a Kujbyšev dialect[72] the two exceptions may be due to morphological analogy: pr'iv'ad'í, n'as'í, s'am'iá, z'aml'ánka and f síl'é, d'ir'évn'a, z'il'ónaj, fpir'ót but pl'atn'óvaj, spl'atóni perhaps on the model of pl'atn'á, pl'atn'á, pl'as't'í, pl'atú,

The introduction and generalization of /a/ in stems before various stressed endings is typical of dialects with the combined assimilative-dissimilative system. (For more examples see the section on morphological restriction, 2.14.)

2.13323. Sudža type dissimilative jakan'e

In this system the rule of dissimilation applies (/a/ does not appear before stressed /á/), and /a/ does not appear between soft consonants before mid vowels. Thus, in dialects which admit stressed /é/ after hard consonants pretonic /a/ may occur, e.g. sm'atéj, čalék (celovek) but ğl'id'ét'.[73] The examples are from a dialect of Bašker ASSR.[74]

jazík, s'arpí, b'ağú, n'asút, sv'aló, t'apló, sl'apój and l'at'ít', b'ar'í, sm'at'jútca, tr'apl'ú but d'ir'évn'a, s'istr'é, ğl'id'él'i, v'is'ólaj, t'ik'ót', šity'órtaj and sv'izát', pam'irlá, ğl'id'át', zm'ijá,

This system is southwestern, most common in Brjansk, Kursk and Orel, but also found in scattered southeastern dialects (Saratov, Orenburg).[75] A comparison of a Belgorod dialect of this type with an Odessa dialect of the same origin shows that Sudža dissimilation can evolve from Obojan' dissimilation (see 2.1322 (4)) through the generalization of C'aC and C'iC' before mid vowels: s'aló s'ilóm, pl'it'én' na pl'itn'é

becomes s'aló s'alóm, pl'it'én' pl'itn'é.[76]

Most dialects with Sudža dissimilative jakan'e have Žizdra dissimilative akanie after hard consonants.

2.14. Morphological restrictions on /a/ after soft consonants (C')

In many southern dialects the distribution of /a/ before the stressed mid vowels /é,ó/ reflects an earlier system in which tense /ê,ô/ were distinguished from lax /é,ó/. With the loss of the contrast between tense and lax mid vowels, the occurrence of pretonic /a/ is no longer determined by the quality, but by the morphological role of the stressed vowel, e.g. s'aló but za s'ilóm, pl'ačó but pl'ičóm, p'ičóm, f s'al'é but n'is'éš. The following discussion does not pretend to offer a comprehensive typology; different dialects sometimes show very different and complex, even unique distributional rules.

2.141. Orexovka jakan'e

In this pattern /a/ may appear between soft consonants before any stressed vowel except the /é/ which is not a reflex of etymological ě. However, the data indicate that leveling to /i/ in some lexical items, and generalization of /a/ in the stems of inflected words are quite usual in dialects of this type; cf. such often cited forms as n'id'él'a, jjó on the one hand and n'a šl'ét', v'as'él'ja, n'as'ém on the other. The example of verb stems of the first conjugation is especially significant. In these dialects the thematic vowel was regularly /é/, not /ó/, (-éš, -ét', -ém, -ét'a), but the introduction of -ó from other dialects or the literary language made a choice necessary between the retention of the rule of C'a C' before ó (and thus n'as'óš, pl'at'ót', v'az'óm) and the creation of a new alternation in the stem (n'is'óš, pl'it'ót, v'iz'óm). Forms like b'ar'ém are hybrids; they may originate in a confusion of older b'ir'ém with newer b'ar'óm or in a generalization of the stem vowel of b'arú, b'arút, and in either case the pretonic vocalism is modified.

The following examples are from the Orexovka dialect in Kujbyšev.[77]

s'al'íl'i, ǧl'ad'í, v'al'ú, b'ar'óza, v'as'ólaj, učit'al'óf, m'an'át', r'ab'át, sm'ajátca but n'id'él'a, t'ip'ér', r'im'én',pl'it'én', m'ičét', d'it'éj, sv'ičéj,

d'išévl'i, v'is'él'ja, v'id'ét'.

This pattern has been documented for a few isolated dialects in Smolensk, Rjazan', Saratov and Orenburg.[78]

The same phenomenon can be observed in various dissimilative and assimilative-dissimilative vowel patterns[79] where the tense vowels have been lost.

In a dialect near Orenburg city[80] /a/ can occur before any stressed vowel, but /i/ is usual before the stressed /é/ of verb desinences, e.g., d'ar'évn'a, b'as'éda and v'adú, v'ad'í but v'id'ěš, v'id'ét', v'id'ét'a. A similar pattern is found in scattered south-central and southeastern dialects from Orel eastward.

A Lipeck dialect[81] in which the original system was Obojan' dissimilation (see 2.1322(4a))has generalized /a/ before the /ó/ of certain desinences, e.g. d'an'ók as well as b'al'jó, z'at'óf along with the expected v'adró, v'adró, v'asnój, p'atróf and sl'ipój (masc.), l'isók, v'islóm, z'il'ónaj, s'is'tór.

An Orenburg dialect with Vitebsk dissimilation[82] admits /a/ between soft consonants before stressed /ó/ only in noun stems: b'al'jó, z'aml'oj, pl'ačom, m'ašok; cf. s'il'ótka, v'is'ólaj, b'ir'óx, n'is'óš, zapl'it'ón and st'iná, ad'ijál a, z'it'já, diri'évn'a, t'ir'ét', l'it'ét'.

In a dialect of Bukovina (Černovcy obl.), Ukrainian SSR,[83] /a/ does not appear before stressed /á/, and before stressed /é/ only when the latter represents etymological ě: s'istrá, v'isná, t'il'áti and v'is'él'ja, čir'r't'éj, s'ir'd'éšnaj, p'iv'éc but i s'al'é, pa m'ažé, p'ir'am'éna, gar'ačeĵ. As in most of these dialects there are some instances of lexicalization of /a/ or /i/, e.g. l'it'ét', ǧi'id'él, v'iz'd'é, n'id'él'a and, on the other hand sv'a šcénnaja, b'ar'éč.

Some Kaluga dialects with dissimilative modified jakan'e[84] have only five stressed vowel phonemes, and /a/ appears before stressed /ó/ only when the latter represents neoacute /ô/, e.g., s'aló, p'aró but za s'ilóm, p'ir'om.

All dialects with the Nižnjaja Zalegošč type of modified dissimilation (see 2.13322) except the most archaic, have lost the tense vowels,[85] so that both /a/ and /i/ can appear before stressed /é/, e.g. f s'al'é, v'al'él but s'im'éinii, v'iz'ét.

In dialects with Novoselki jakan'e which have lost the tense vowels /ô, ê/ both /a/ and /i/ can appear before stressed /é/. The examples are from a dialect of western Penza:[86]

f s'al'é, ul'at'éla, t'al'éğa but v'is'él'ja, d'ir'évn'a, b'ir'éš, d'it'éj and v'is'ólaj, v'ir'ófka, n'is'óm, daššičók.

In a Kujbyšev dialect with Kidusovo type jakan'e[87] /a/ is generalized between soft consonants before the /ó/ of verb endings, neuter nouns and the derivational suffix -#k-: n'as'óm, jajcóm, z'aml'ój, b'al'jó, p'an'óe but z'il'ónaj, b'ir'óza, v'ir'ófka, r'ib'ónak.

2.142. Dissimilation before mid-vowels

There are at least two southern vowel patterns in which the occurrence of pretonic /a/ before mid vowels is subject to morphological (or etymological) restrictions, as in the dialects discussed above, and /a/ does not appear before stressed /á/, according to the rule of dissimilation.

(1) Ščigry type dissimilation

In this pattern /a/ does not occur before stressed /á/, nor between soft consonants before stressed /ó/ or /é/ which is not a reflex of etymological ě, e.g. s'aló, f s'al'é but s'ilá, n'is'óm, r'ib'ónak. Almost all the studies of these dialects cite many exceptions particularly /a/ before hard Cá and soft C'ó, and N.N. Durnovo expressed misgivings when he included this system in his typology of the southern dialects.[88] The following examples are from a south-western Lipeck dialect.[89]

časí, t'aplín', s'astrú, b'arú, n'as'í, ğl'ad'ít', čajk'ú, n'a l'iút, sv'atói, d'alóv and ğl'ad'él, b'al'éja, javr'éj but n'is'é (3sg.), d'išévl'i, s'im'éika, ijé (eë), l'ib'ótka, d'in'ók, d'išóvai, zapr'igát', čisá, z'il'in'iá (N pl.), ğl'id'á (3 pl.).

In this dialect most of the exceptions to the rule belong to specific morphological categories: a) prefixes and prepositions, e.g. p'ir'an'ós, čir'as šéju, b'az d'én'ax, n'a b'éj, b) stems of masculine diminutives ending in -#k-, e.g. sn'ažok, čajók, c) noun stems before the desinences -óju, -óv, e.g. z'aml'óju, z'at'jóv, and d) stems of neuter nouns and adverbs before -ó, e.g. pl'ačó, ğar'ačó. Before -éj there is free variation of /a/ and /i/: javr'éj, čart'éj and pl'ičéj, d'it'éj.

This system is uncommon, confined to a small area in the Southwest between Ščigry (Kursk) and Livny (Orel), intermingled with other types of pretonic vocalism. It is rarely homogeneous, but as an underlying system it is found over a much

broader territory (Brjansk, Voronež, Lipeck, Rjazan', Saratov), and some other dialects show a tendency to develop a similar system.[90]

(2) Dmitriev type dissimilation

In this system pretonic /a/ is not admitted before stressed /á/ or /é/, and before stressed /ó/ only when it is the reflex of etymological tense o̲. It is documented only in one Kursk dialect, and there are many exceptions to the distributional rules.[91]

šatír'i, l'ažít, jamú, z'il'anúja, d'at'ínu, ǧl'ad'ít', jajú, s'avr'úǧa and pl'ašó, p'aró, s'adój (Fem.) but p'isók, v'inóšik, pr'id'ót' (prjadeť), na b'ir'óz'a, b'il'éitca, n'im'éck'i, d'ir'é vn'u, pr'iv'izál, zb'ir'iǧlá, zv'is'il'át'.

This dialect has dissimilative akan'e after hard consonants before stressed /á/.

2.2. Antepretonic Vocalism

In some dialects it is possible to distinguish two varieties of antepretonic syllables. The first antepretonic syllable (that immediately preceding the pretonic) is more susceptible to reduction and eventual loss than the second antepretonic, particularly in the vicinity of liquid consonants.[1] Although this pattern seems to be only a variant in allegro speech, lexical examples abound in the literature, e.g. in western Kaluga[2] parxavýx (poroxovyx), vyskal'étna (vysokoletno), blaǧdar'ím, ǧardabójn'a (gorodobojnja), and in central Rjazan'[3] za mladúja, na praxót, pasnav'íl (postanovil), daǧvará, p'ärkat'íl, p'ärdavój. Note the resulting V/# alternation in stems with shifting stress: saraxván/f sarxvanáx, da sraká/ sarkavój, karótkaj/ kartanósava (a place name)/ and metathesis of CV to VC in others: kaldavája. In such dialects an epenthetic vowel sometimes breaks up initial consonant clusters: palaxája, zavanók, palat'íl, tavaróx and vowels in initial syllables may be lost, e.g. trantás, krandáš in western Ul'janovsk.[4]

This phenomenon is found most consistently in the dialects southeast of Moscow (Rjazan', Penza) and in scattered localities as far east as the Urals (Čeljabinsk). Individual words with loss of /a/ are attested in many southern dialects.

2.21. Distribution after hard consonants

The restrictions on vowels after hard consonants pertain chiefly to /o/, and less commonly to the /ɨ/ and /u/. All dialects have /a/ or its reduced central variant [ɑ].

(1) Neutralization of /o/

In addition to the dialects which do not admit unstressed /o/ in any position, there is a large number of central dialects which admit it only in pretonic syllables, as in a central Saratov dialect: robóta', top'ér', lom'íl, korôva, but papros'íl, sab'erát', varos'kój, pstojála. These dialects are found in two areas: western Leningrad, southern Novgorod and northern Pskov in the Northwest and a large zone extending from Kalinin eastward through Ivanovo, Vladimir and Gor'kij. Further south they are scattered in areas where complete akan'e predominates (Penza, Kujbyšev, Saratov.[5]

In most dialects which exclude antepretonic /o/ the variant of /a/ after hard consonants is reduced central [ɑ], as in a northern Rjazan' dialect:[6] zɑbal'él, xɑrašó, vɑrat'ícca. Between voiceless consonants this is a voiceless vowel p^{ɑ}t'anúl, p^{ɑ}xaróni

and in noninitial syllables often it is lost: za mladúja, na praxót, da plav'íny (see 2.2 above). For examples of dialects with unreduced [a] see the chapter on prosodic features. Reduction is characteristic of most southern dialects, as well as transitional dialects in areas of contact between o-type and a-type vocalism from Pskov in the West to the Urals.[7]

(2) Neutralization of /u/

A western Penza dialect[8] shows a quite unusual regular reduction of both /a/ and /u/ as [ɑ]: mažiká, kalaká, rakavá, dar'k'í, maravl'í vs. rybak'í, vyxad'í.

In a dialects of Mordva ASSR[9] /u/ loses rounding and is leveled with /i/: myžik'í, rykav'á, pyzyr'ók, ğysak'í, kyšaká ; cf. napr'ad'í, pağl'ad'él .

(3) Neutralization of /a/

A western Tula dialect[10] consistently levels /a/ with /i/: mylakó, ny dvar'é, syb'ir'í, zyp'ir'ét', ğylub'éj, ny ğumnó . cf. rukavá, duraká and word-initial ağarót, abajd'í, atrub'íl.

In many dialects this phenomenon is common but not systematic, e.g. in western Penza:[11] ny ğylav'é, xyrašó, pyčinájut', mylakó along with načinál, sapaij, and ğvar'ét', xrašó .

In many older studies it is impossible to determine whether the symbol y represents a raised reduced vowel or a true neutralization of /a/ and /i/. Both the MIVRG and the TMDK contain numerous transcriptions like ğylavá, pykažú, zyp'ir'ét, styranú, myladój, pylažít',[12] along with pakažú, palažít', etc. Complete neutralization seems to be quite rare, although individual examples are attested all the way from Smolensk[13] to the Urals and even in Siberia.[14]

(4) Neutralization of /i,u/

An extreme case of nautralization, the leveling of all antepretonic vowels as [ɑ] after hard consonants, is attested in a dialect of Mordva ASSR:[15] past'ak'í, daraká, k ağal'kú, mašalófka like malakó, lašid'éj . That the reduced vowel is phonemically /a/ is demonstrated by the fact that its variant in slow or emphatic speech is a full a: makas'éjka, žaravl'óva (name), mašalófka .

The patterns above (2, 3, 4) are found in dialects with only three unstressed vowel phonemes in pretonic position, where the opposition /i/ : /u/ : /a/ is common

to all dialects. In many east-central dialects, however, there is considerable free variation between antepretonic i, u and ə without loss of the contrast, e.g. in Čuvaš ASSR:[16] rəkavá, mažikú, rəbak'i but also synav'já, vyxad'í and sunduk'é.[17] Cf. the reduction of /i/ in the literary language in allegro style: dəmavój, məlavár.[18]

2.22. Distribution between Soft and Hard Consonants (C'_C)

Most dialects impose more restrictions on vowel distribution, particularly on /e, o/ and /a/ in antepretonic than in pretonic syllables. Nevertheless, there are dialects in which the maximal opposition /e/ : /o/ : /a/ is permitted after soft consonants or palatals. Examples from an Ivanovo dialect are:

p'otuxá, p'otrová dn'i, žon'ixú, d'elovói, p'ešoxódom and p'ataká.

In a group of dialects of Mari ASSR[19] the following examples are found:

d'elovói, t'omnovátoj and pr'amováta.

This pattern is not concentrated in any single area; it is most characteristic of east-central dialects (Vladimir, Ivanovo), and is found sporadically from Kostroma to the Volga (Saratov), as well as in a small area of the Northwest (Karelia).

(1) Neutralization of o

/o/ never appears after soft consonants in dialects with akan'e, i.e. those which do not admit /o/ after hard consonants (cf. the same restriction in pretonic syllables).

In a Gor'kij dialect[20] /e/ and /a/ are opposed after soft consonants and palatals:

l'esov'ík, četir'óx vs. jarovój, m'asojét, p'atačok, čaželó; cf. after hard consonants pan'isú, malod'éc.

Furthermore, in a number of o-dialects /o/ is admitted only after hard consonants. The examples are from a dialect of northwestern Vologda.[21]

t'eplotá, p'etux'í, v'estovój, z'el'ená vs. p'ataká, pr'am'ikóm.

This distributional pattern is found over a large part of the North, excluding the Northwest (Arxangel'sk, Vologda, Kirov, Kostroma and adjacent areas).[22]

(2) Neutralization of /e/

A few Karelian dialects admit /o/ and /a/ after soft consonants; however ĕ is represented by /i/, e.g.[23]

st'ogonút', c'olov'ék vs. t'ažoló, p'atoká, zapr'ažoní; cf. s'inokós, xl'ibor'és and

also l'ib'id'éj, p'id' godóf

(3) Neutralization of /a/

Some northern dialects have an opposition /o/ : /e/ after soft consonants. These examples are from eastern Kostroma:[24]

p'otrográt, c'olov'ék, d'olovój vs. b'edn'aká, t'ežoló, p'ed'es'át, ječm'en'á

This pattern is found in Arxangel'sk, Vologda and Kostroma, but does not seem to be very common.[25]

(4) Neutralization of mid vowels

Three varieties of this pattern are known, two of which are found in o-dialects, and the other in a large number of a-dialects.

(a) A Gor'kij dialect replaces mid vowels after soft consonants, as well as /a/ between soft consonants, with /i/:[26]

p'atačók but t'iplotá, p'itux'í, čitir'óx, cf. r'it'ivája, pr'im'ikóm like b'ir'ogá, v'il'iká

(b) In a Vladimir dialect[27] mid vowels are replaced by /a/. This is jakan'e with okan'e (see pretonic vocalism).

t'asnotá, p'atux'í, p'ataká, v'as'oló, d'ar'evúška, pr'am'ikóm; cf. poskor'éj, on'í govor'á, prov'ed'óna

These patterns are poorly documented, but may exist in other dialects, e.g. northwestern[28] or Siberian, in the zones of contact between okan'e and akan'e.

(c) In a large number of southern and central dialects both mid vowels and /a/ after soft consonants are represented by a reduced fronted variant [ɐ̈] corresponding to the [ɑ] which appears after hard consonants (see above), as in the older orthoepic norm of the literary language.[29] Thus, in a dialect of Čuvaš ASSR:[30] p'ɐ̈ dajút, t'ɐ̈žil'éj, p'ɐ̈tačók, b'ɐ̈z ruk'í but pr'ivad'í ; cf. pɑt'anúl, lɑšid'éj, lɑskutók, sɑpag'í . Many other dialects, however, show wide free variation between reduced [ɐ̈] and /i/, e.g. in Smolensk[31] t'ɐ̈snatá, v'ɐ̈l'iká, pr'ɐ̈m'ikóm but also s'im'aríx, v'is'aló, s'il'anój . Both patterns are so widespread that no geographical conclusions are possible.[32]

(5) Neutralization of /o, a/

In some dialects /o/ and /a/ after hard consonants are in complementary distribution with e after soft, as in southern Perm'[33]

t'eplotá, p'etaká, s'em'erix, pr'em'ikóm; likewise želudók, čeželó, česovój

In an eastern Kirov dialect:[34] t'emnotá, p'etuxá, p'etačók, pl'esuní, pr'em'ikóm, but after palatals žon'ix'í, čotir'óx, čornotá as well as čelovát', čežoló, pročežená, ses't'eríx.

This type of vocalism is scattered irregularly over the Northeast, where it is the most common type (Arxangel'sk, Vologda, Kostroma eastward to the Urals), and in parts of Siberia.[35]

(6) Neutralization of /o, e/ and /a/

In a large number of dialects all nondiffuse vowels after soft consonants are replaced by /i/. Presumably this includes the o-dialects with pretonic ikan'e (see 2.1212 (7)), but there is no documentation. It is found in a great many southern dialects, often in free variation with the pattern with ʉ (see 4c above), as well as in central dialects with partial okan'e (see 2.21 above). Thus, in eastern Kalinin:[36] t'isnotá, p'ituxá, irovój, p'itačók, čitir'óx, čižil'éj; cf. after hard consonants borodá, položít' but načovát'. In southern Moscow obl.:[37] p'ir'ixad'íl, b'izapásnaj, v'itravój, p'itušók, r'idavój. In a Rostov dialect:[38] l'isav'ík, m'isajét', p'irvad'íl, čilav'ék, p'itačók, iravój.

(7) Neutralization of /u/

Some east-central dialects, in the same area where /u/ is lost after hard consonants (see above), replace /u/ after soft consonants with /i/, thus čibuká, s'irtuk'í, t'if'akóf.

2.23. Distribution after Palatals

The data for this position are so fragmentary even in the best and most up-to-date studies that it is impossible to draw any general conclusions about vowel distribution.

2.24. Distribution between Soft Consonants

Since the same restrictions that apply in position C'_C also apply in C'_C', the examples quoted below illustrate only those distributional rules which do not operate before hard consonants in the given dialect.

(1) Neutralization of /o/

No dialect documented in the literature admits /o/ between soft consonants. In the great majority of northern dialects where /o/ appears before hard consonants it is replaced by /e/ between soft, and similarly in east-central dialects where

pretonic /o/ is admitted between soft consonants (see 2.1214). Thus, in an eastern Vologda dialect:[40]

s'onokós, c'olovék but only d'er'evóf, st'er'ogú

(2) Neutralization of /a/

The most typical pattern in the northern dialects admits only /e/ between soft consonants, excluding both /o/ and /a/. Some of these dialects do not admit /a/ before hard consonants, either. The examples are from a central Vologda dialect:[41]

v'ec'orá, b'er'ežók, v'ed'et'ó and tr'es'et'ó, napr'ad'enó; cf. v'ed'ós, tr'es'ós and v'odú, tr'asú

A few of these dialects have /e/ only as the alternant of /a/, while /e/ is replaced by /i/, as in a dialect near Vologda city:[42]

pr'em'ikóm, r'et'ivája, but v'is'eló, b'ir'egú, s'im'eríx; cf. t'osnotá, p'otuxá

Likewise, in a Novgorod dialect:[43]

pr'em'ikóm but t'isnotá, d'ir'ivúška, b'ir'igú, v'is'iló

Dialects which allow C'aC but not C'aC' predominate in the upper North (Arxangel'sk, Vologda, adjacent Kostroma and Kirov).[44]

(3) Neutralization of /o/ and /e/

A pattern which exists at least as a variant in a few transitional central dialects admist only /a/ after soft consonants; see 2.22 (4b).

(4) Neutralization of /o, e/ and /a/ (ikan'e)

A few dialects admit nondiffuse vowels before but not between soft consonants, where they are replaced by /i/. Thus, in a Karelian dialect:[45]

c'ol'ov'ék, d'ošová and t'ažoló but l'ib'id'éj, v'is'olún, p'ik'it'é, gl'id'it'é, p'it'má (pjat'ju)

In this dialect the distribution of pretonic and antepretonic vowels is the same.

Another rare type of vocalism shows /a/ only before hard consonants, as in Irkutsk[46]

m'asarúpka, d'alavói but s'im'il'étka, f p'it'aróm, v'il'ičiná

and as a variant in Gomel obl., BRSSR:[47]

pl'am'aná, p'ir'as'al'ít' as well as pr'its'idát'al', dl'i m'in'á, p'ir'an'ós

Several older studies indicate this pattern for a group of Gor'kij dialects,

but the data are too scanty to be conclusive.[48]

(5) Neutralization of /u/

Unrounding of /u/ to /i/ or reduction to [ĭ] is attested sporadically in eastern dialects (cf. similar phenomena after hard consonants), e.g. in Leka (Moscow obl.) l'ibavátcat', kl'ičavája vadá,[49] but the data are not sufficient to determine if this is systematic.

2.25. Restrictions Conditioned by the Vocalic Environment

In a few dialects the rules of assimilation or dissimilation observed in pretonic syllables (see 2.132) may also apply to antepretonic /o/ and /a/.

(1) Assimilative okan'e

In a group of southern Penza dialects[50] /o/ appears almost exclusively before pretonic /o/ (more rarely /u/) in the vicinity of grave (labial or velar) consonants:

xorošó, dogovór, protokól, podožd'í, borodá, govor'ít, golubój but sab'irát', praživátca, pal'ivál, palagát'; note also malat'íl and pamogát', paros'ónak

In an eastern Novgorod dialect[51] antepretonic /o/ is admitted only before stressed /ó/:

potolók, topol'óf, xorošó but varob'éj, sapog'í, staroná

Similar patterns, but with many inconsistencies, have been observed in some Pskov dialects. This phenomenon is found in scattered central and Siberian border dialects.[52]

(2) Dissimilative okan'e

In a few Pskov dialects with Gdov and Polna pretonic vocalism (see 2.1321) antepretonic /o/ appears before pretonic /a/ and non-o before pretonic /o/ according to very complicated rules. Examples of the former are: moladá, molaká, pojal'šan'n'ik and sob'irát', do kril'cá, and of the latter: miloká, pib'ožál. Since there are numerous exceptions, we shall not cite examples for all the environments of /o/.[53]

(3) Dissimilative akan'e

In a few western dialects the rule of non-a before /a/ applies to antepretonic syllables, too (see 2.1322 (2)). There are two varieties.

a) Žizdra dissimilation

In a few southern Pskov dialects [54] antepretonic /a/ has the variant [ɑ] before pretonic /a/:

pɑlav'ínu, prɑval'í, pɑdm'as't'i but pas'id'ít'i, bal'šynstvó, xamutý

b) Neutralization of /a/

Here /a/ is replaced by /ɨ/, through the raising of [ɑ], before pretonic /a/ and usually before [ɑ] or [y] as dissimilative variants of /a/ before stressed /á/, as in a dialect of eastern Smolensk:[55]

ğyvar'í, tvyjağó, lyšad'éj, pyğl'ad'í and ğylyvá, dyğyn'át', mylaká, sylawjá , but before other vowels na bryváx, addyxn'í, rašš̆ytál, sab'irát', star'ičók, za lupátu, tarğuvát', caluvát'

These dialects are located in a small compact area of southern Pskov, Smolensk and western Kaluga, and in most of them dissimilation is not systematic.

2.3. Posttonic Vocalism

Posttonic syllables impose restrictions on the occurrence of vowels analogous to those observed in antepretonic syllables. Grammatical endings are less subject to the neutralization of vowel distinctions than other posttonic syllables (except in the east-central dialects). and will be discussed separately, although examples of vowels in grammatical suffixes will be quoted if the vocalic pattern of the given dialect is the same in desinences and other posttonic syllables.

As in antepretonic position, the environments which determine the distribution of vowels are:

a)the adjacent consonant(s), C_, C'_ or C'_C' and

b) the quality of the preceding (stressed) or following (desinential) vowel.

Many northern dialects show no neutralization and all five unstressed vowels are permitted, e.g. in Perm':[1]

pr'ád'et, víjexal, óz'oro, pógr'op and másl'anaja, nán'al.

Dialects with five posttonic vowel phonemes are found in a large part of the North from eastern Leningrad obl. to the Urals, and as far south as eastern Kalinin and northern Gor'kij.[2]

In other dialects the vowels most generally subject to neutralization are o and a after hard consonants and e, o and a after soft consonants. The elimination of /u/ is less common, and all dialects maintain /a/ after hard consonants and /i/ after soft. In some dialects, however, /i/ merges with /a/ after hard consonants.

2.31. Neutralization of /o, e/ and /a/

(1) Restriction on o after hard and soft consonants

The great majority of dialects which exclude antepretonic /o/ also exclude posttonic /o/ except in endings. These include the a-dialects of the South, north-central Kostroma, western Leningrad obl., Karelia and scattered places in the North (for example, eastern Korov), as well as the central dialects in which unstressed /o/ appears only in pretonic position (see 2.21), e. g. domá, topór, od'ét', sol'ít', but s roká, garodóf, kalot'ít and kólas, jágada, l'étam, xútar.

In some dialects /o/ can occur after hard but not after soft consonants, e.g. in Tatar ASSR:[3]

górot, páločka, trúdnos't'i but v'ét'er, óz'ero, vín'esu; cf. m'és'ac, pódn'al, vít'anu, náčal'i

In a few dialects etymological e (but not ĕ) is replaced by /a/, as in northwestern Vladimir:[4]

uv'íd'el, pr'él'es but v'ét'ar, óz'aro like pón'al, d'és'at'

Dialects with o/e in complementary distribution after hard and soft consonants, resp., are found through most of the N orth, intermingled among dialects which admit C'o. In many of them C'o does occur in desinences, i.e. óz'ero but pól'o, mór'om.[5]

(2) Restriction on e after soft consonants

In an eastern Karelian dialect unstressed /e/ is replaced by /i/:[6]

pójist, víl'is (vylez), pál'ic, m'ísíc, kám'in', na óz'ir'i, záp'irl'i, but cf. d'én'ok, b'ér'ok, záp'or, óz'ogo and s'íjal

One might expect to find this type of vocalism elsewhere in the Northwest and possibly in the east-central zone, but it is not documented.

(3) Restriction on both mid vowels after soft consonants

In some dialects the only non high vowel permitted is a reduced /a/, which appears as [ɑ] after hard consonants and a fronted ɐ̈ after soft:[7]

górɑt, bórɑdy, étɑvɑ and [v'ét'ɐ̈r, pál'ɐ̈'ɕ, v'és'ɐ̈la, ós'ɐ̈n', mát'ɐ̈r'i

In a few archaic dialects the posttonic vowel is a full [a], although it may often be replaced by the reduced vowels or [i], e.g. in Irkutsk:[8]

b'ér'ak, vós'am, v'íd'ala, s'ém'is'at, m'és'aca and less frequently v'éjɐ̈l and zamóčik, mál'in'ka, v'éjil'i

and in eastern Saratov:[9]

póm'ar, d'év'ar', m'iz'ín'ac, výl'az'it' but also dáv'ɐ̈čɑ, ránɐ̈'nyj, vývɐ̈'i and n'ém'ic, d'én'ix, úm'ir, ós'in'ju, p'át'ira, mát'ir'i

The pattern which excludes mid vowels is common to most southern and central a-dialects, and in the South in the same areas with dialects which further exclude /a/ after soft consonants (see below). Free variation of ['ɑ] and [i] after soft consonants is rather widespread; cf. the older variant of the literary norm.

(4) Exclusion of a after soft consonants

Some northern dialects admit the mid vowels but exclude /a/ after soft consonants, as in southern Arxangel'sk:[10]

zalájel, d'év'et' but v'íd'el, vós'em, víb'eru and v'ít'or, d'én'ok, d'én'oški, vít'orti

This restriction is typical of the upper North (Arxangel'sk, Perm', Kirov, Sverdlovsk).[11]

(5) Restriction on o and a after soft consonants

In a number of northeastern dialects /o/ and /a/ can occur after hard consonants, but only /e/ after soft. The examples are from Kurgan;[12] note that C'o and C'a do occur in desinences.

v'éčeru, vr'ém'enno, nam'íčen and pr'ín'el, m'ís'es (mésjac), pám'et', slúčej but cf. póz'n'ova, stán'ot and jispóln'at

This type of vocalism is found in the same area as the preceding and further east in the Urals.

(6) Exclusion of e, o and a after soft consonants

Many dialects permit only /i/ and /u/ after soft consonants, e.g. in Rost ov:[13]

zájic, pójis, s'év'ir, v'íd'ila, na plóšid'i, pátčir'ica

Note that /a/ may occur in grammatical endings and the final syllable of nouns with a V/# stem alternation: d'én'ax, kap'éjak.

Other dialects exclude nondesinential /a/ altogether, e.g. in Smolensk:[14]

d'én'ix like póm'ir, v'íd'iw, prókl'it, s'éjit', tís'iča

2.32. Neutralization of High Vowels

(1) Restriction on /i/ and /u/ after hard consonants

In some dialects unstressed /i/ and /u/ can fall together with /a/ (phonetically realized as reduced [ɑ]) in posttonic as well as pretonic position, e.g. in Mordva ASSR:[15]

kánal (kapnul), fártak, zdráfsvaj, rúsaju and dóžal

The unrounding and reduction of /u/ seems to be particularly common before soft consonants, e.g. gólap', prórap', ókan'.[16]

Neutralization of the high vowels is facultative in some dialects, e.g. in southern Moscow obl.:[17]

lódar' and pažálasta, ǧólap', vídal (vydul) along with dósit'i and bábuška, d'éuška

It should be noted that neutralization of the high vowels in antepretonic and posttonic positions are not always concomitant. In many east central dialects word or phrase-final vowels are louder and longer than other unstressed vowels (excepting pretonic), and hence are less subject to reduction than antepretonics.

This phenomenon is found in dialects throughout the east-central zone as far as the Urals with a concentration in eastern Kalinin and southeast of Moscow (Rjazan', Penza).[18] Individual words like zamaš are attested in many dialects.

(2) Restriction on /u/ after soft consonants

On the basis of the data regarding the treatment of /u/ after hard consonants in the east-central and Meščera dialects, and the occasional citation of the form kón'ʉx (konjux), it is safe to assume that these dialects admit /u/ after soft consonants only in desinences, e.g. xód'ut, póz'n'uju.

2.33. Restrictions on Vowels between Soft Consonants

Posttonic /o/ between soft consonants might be expected in such noun stems as pógr'op f pógr'obe. But even in the North this kind of morphological leveling is rare. Thus we usually find óz'oro or óz'ero (in the North) and óz'ara (in the South) but na óz'er'e or na óz'ir'i and na óz'ir'a, resp.

(1) Neutralization of /a/

A number of northern dialects admit /a/ between soft consonants, e.g. in Vologda:[19] pám'at', pón'alí, vír'ad'it. These dialects are found in the Northwest (Novgorod, Leningrad, western Vologda) and various parts of the Northeast (Jaroslavl', Kostroma, Kirov, northern Gor'kij, Tatar ASSR).[20]

Most northern dialects, however, admit only /e/ between soft consonants, as in eastern Arxangel'sk:[21]

pov'ít'er'jo, kám'en', d'év'et', vín'et' (lit. vynut') ; cf. before hard consonants p'ép'ol, čés't'on, v'ít'or and pójas, pón'al

The pattern which excludes both /o/ and /a/ between soft consonants predominates in the upper North (Arxangel'sk, Vologda, Kostroma, Kirov) and the Urals (Perm', Sverlovsk, Kurgan).[22]

(2) Neutralization of /a/ and /e/

The substitution of /i/ for all nondiffuse vowels between soft consonants is rather rare and not related to any particular type of vocalism. Thus, in eastern Karelia:[23]

b'ér'ok, záp'or, óz'oro and v'íd'al s'éjal but ós'in', k'am'in', záp'irl'i, na óz'ir'i, v'íd'it', s'íjit';

and in Kaluga: d'én'ax, kap'éjak, vóz'ara but d'év'it', s'éjit'; cf. in western Karelia: [Ardentov] m'ís'aca, pr'éžn'amu, v'íd'ala, lóvl'ana but v óz'ir'i, kól'it'a, d'ijsv'ít'il'na.

2.34. Restrictions Conditioned by Vocalic Environment

Phenomena similar to those observed in the antepretonic vocalism (see 2.25 above) are found in a few, though not necessarily the same central transitional dialects. They do not appear to be systematic anywhere.

(1) Assimilative okan'e

In a Saratov dialect[25] /o/ after hard consonants is usually replaced by /a/ regardless of the stressed vowel. However, /o/ appears most frequently in disyllabic words after stressed /ó/ and less often /ú/:

pótpol, dórok, vólos't', óvošši, l'ógon'ki, xútor, sosúdof and tráktar, mázanku, f sarátav'i, díračka but also sarátofskaj, jágodam'i, p'átovo and stóranu, bóraf, kómnatu, ubóračka.

Similarly, in a Pskov dialect:[26]

górot, bórof, vólosi, nóvomu, dórog'i, stóronu but mákafka, tr'ápačka, sládas't', bagátava.

In a Penza dialect[29] /o/ is most often maintained in final open syllables: čórno mór'e, v'ódro, t'ómno, ból'no and xóladno, dórago along with bóčkaj, ókala, skól'ka; cf. cérkaf', k íslava, xl'ébam and náda, žalka.

Partial okan'e may exist as a variant of akan'e in other border dialects, but one would not expect it to be as common in posttonic as in antepretonic syllables in view of the relative dynamic weakness of the former; there is a progressive phonological dependence of antepretonic and pretonic upon stressed vowels (and antepretonic vowels are often word initial), and on the other hand both the stressed and final (usually grammatical) syllables are stronger than those intervening.

(2) Assimilative akan'e

In at least one (Tula) dialect[28] /a/ is normally replaced by /i/ (phonetically y after hard consonants), but after hard consonants nonfinal /a/ appears frequently if the vowel of the following (final) syllable is /a/, and rarely when the latter is /i/:

dóraǧa, stóraža, jáblaka, jétava along with dóriǧa, pálička but

úǧil'u, jétimu, stórižu and only vípris'il, u ǧórid'i

The pretonic vocalism shows nothing parallel: this dialect has modified jakan'e s'aló, n'asú but u s'il'é, n'is'óš.

2.3. Word-Initial (Antepretonic) Vocalism

All dialects permit absolute initial /i/ and /u/: izvinít', idiót, uxodít', uglovój. Other initial antepretonic vowels are subject to various restrictions. Initial e is rare in all dialects and initial o is possible only in the okan'e dialects.

(1) Restrictions on /o, e/

In most o-dialects the antepretonic /o/ occurs word initially and after hard consonants, e.g. oguréc like gorodá. In a few east-central dialects, however, absolute initial /o/ is replaced by /u/, e.g. govorít', toporá but udnovó, uddavát', ugorót. These dialects are located in small pockets in eastern Kalinin, western Ivanovo, southern Kostroma and northern Gor'kij.[29]

In other dialects an antepretonic o yields u in word-initial position and a after hard consonants; e.g. in Mari ASSR:[30]

od'ín, otn'ós, od'ét', o górad'e vs. udnovó, ut n'ovó, ud'evájus',

ugorót and malokó, gavor'ít, galub'éj, sabl'udát', pradajút, whereas in a neighboring area ɑ occurs in both positions:[31]

ɑtopr'í, ɑtošól, ɑgursí, ɑbošl'í

(Thus initial u may have developed either directly from the raising of o, or through the rounding of the central [ɑ]; cf. ugronóm, ukurát in the Atlas). Dialects with antepretonic u and ɑ in place of etymological o are found in a belt extending from Kalinin to southern Tatar ASSR.[32]

Initial /e/ is rare in the dialects, although some literary words such as ékonomika appear occasionally. There is little data on /e/, but the citation of jestón'cax in a Pskov dialect[33] as well as stressed jétu suggests that prothetic /j/ before any initial e may be a regular phenomenon.

(2) Restrictions on /a/

In a number of dialects initial /a/ is replaced by /i/. The examples are from central Rjazan':[34]

iz'arά (ozёra), is'an'jú (ósen'ju) isnav'ít' (ostanovit'), iddavál, itašlá, idnavó, ibaždí; cf. addát', ad'ín and zabal'él, pat'anúl.

In a western Saratov dialect[35] antepretonic /a/ is rare: ad'ajús'a, adnal'ícna but itajd'í, id'ajála, id'inákava, irbuzóf, it n'ajó, igran'om, ikušérka (cf. arbús, ad'ín, at n'íx).

Dialects excluding /a/ are scattered over a large area east of Moscow (Rjazan', Vladimir, southern Gorkij, Tambov, Ul'janovsk, Saratov, Kujbyšev) as far as central Siberia (Tomsk).[36]

The same phenomenon occurs, although not systematically, west of Moscow, where it is also found in pretonic syllables, e.g. in Smolensk:[37]

itčavó, ib majóm, ibrazám and also ib'ét, ip čóm, iǧn'ú, id'ín along with atčavó, atapl'át', aǧón', ad'ín, atp'ór.

2.5. Vocalism of Desinences and Final Open Syllables

Because of their grammatical role the desinential vowels show greater phonemic differentiation than the vowels in other unstressed positions. In most northern and in many southern dialects such sequences as C'o, C'aC' are found only in endings. In many central dialects, on the other hand, all posttonic syllables show the same vocalism except, in some, for the lack of reduction of /a/ in word- or phrase-final position.

The maximal distinction of /e/, /o/ and /a/ is found in northern and a few west-central dialects where one or more of these distinctions are neutralized in other unstressed syllables. Likewise, in some a-dialects /e/ and /a/ are opposed only in desinences, and /i/ and /u/, which are neutralized in some dialects in other non-pretonic positions, are never completely neutralized in desinences.

Since the great majority of final open syllables occur in grammatical endings, we shall treat the final vowel of such forms as nado, vozle as if they were desinential.

2.51. Vocalism after Hard Consonants

(1) The maximal vowel oppositions /o/: /a/ after hard consonants is typical of northern dialects (see 2.3 above). However, a small number of transitional

central dialects maintain /o/ only in final, usually open syllables. It should be noted that /a/ does appear as a variant in all these dialects. Thus, in Pskov:[38]

mnógo, ráno, nášo, s n'éboj (nebom), akalódok, vúgor' and after soft C' plat'jo along with zádam, móžna vs. mólan'ja (molnija), páracku (paročku), vadá, kalxós, agón', pras'ít'.

In a neighboring dialect:[39]

balóto, óz'iro, n'amnógo, mal'én'ko, s'érco and pól'o, mór'o. (See also the positional restrictions on /o/, 2.34 above.)

In a few Saratov dialects /o/ has become unrounded to /ɑ/ without merging with /a/:[40]

kn'íga, bráta, xad'íla, rad'ílas' vs. užásnɑ, mnógɑ, nádɑ, sn'égɑm, l'étɑs' and in a neighboring dialect:[41]

júpka, čilav'éka, t'il'áta, vaz'íla vs. m'ésta čísta, mnoga, bíla.

Similar phenomena are recorded in Vladimir border dialects, although the data have not been published.[42]

(2) Reduction of high vowels and /a/

The reduction of /i/ in closed syllables (e.g. -yx, -ym) to ɑ is noted in scattered dialects, but never seems to be systematic. Even in Kalinin dialects with a very high degree of reduction of unstressed vowels in general, desinential /i/ is preserved after hard consonants.

An extreme case of reduction can be observed in some southern Ural dialects (Čeljabinsk, Baškir ASSR). Here the high vowels can be reduced to [ɑ], and, furthermore, all final vowels are sometimes lost. If the reduced vowel appears in its full variant [ɑ], there can be a seeming confusion of case endings.[43]

a) reduction: nabralá ja s'ila, mašína xód'ut' and palátka z'd'élaim, krúška t'eb'é nal'jú; cf. b) loss: mašín takája jés', kakáj ta glúpaja, t'il'igrám pr'išlá, b'is kvaz živ'óm, m'id'icín n'ébla, da pab'éd búdu, s p'ésk sl'ízait and f p'ésk jétu, s v'érx, f p'átn'ic pr'ijéxala.

2.52. Vocalism after Soft Consonants

With the exception of the phenomenon of reduction described above, /u/ and /i/ (or a reduced fronted variant of /ɨ/) are maintained in all dialects. The maximal distinction between /e,o/ and /a/ is the same as in other unstressed positions. Thus

in a Vologda dialect:[44]

vr'ém'o, mór'o, glux'íjo, c'otír'o, búd'et'o, pot p l'om, tr'ét'jom, zgotóvl'on, búd'ot, s'ín'omu, na pól'e, pt'íc'e, n'es'ít'e and púl'a, pt'íc'am, zúb'ja, xód'at.

The distribution of /o/ and /e/, however, varies in the dialects. For example, /o/ occurs after soft consonants in some Jaroslavl' dialects[45] only in noun and adjective endings: pól'o, mór'om, pózn'omu but búd'em, búd'et. In many dialects the 2dPl desinence is -t'e, but -oš, -ot, -om occur (see Verb Morphology). On the other hand, in many northwestern dialects the loc./dat. sg. desinence is -i, which greatly restricts the distribution of /e/. Thus, in a Murmansk dialect:[46]

mór'o, zdoróv'jo, dvójo, takójo, s'ín'ogo and na n'éb'i, v otr'ád'i, k pápi, v jámi vs. xód'it'e davájt'e.

Dialects with five vowel phonemes after soft consonants in desinences are found all over the North excepting the extreme Northeast and Northwest, although in many areas they are interspersed with other types (see below).

(1) Restriction on /e/

A few peripheral dialects do not permit /e/ after soft consonants in desinences, e.g. in eastern Karelia:[47]

id'it'é, gd'é, f sol'é but id'ít'i (Imper.), n'égd'i, v útr'i, vm'ís't'i; cf. gord'ája (Comp.), s'ím'a, plám'o, sc'és'jo (ščast'e), gór'om, brát'jof, znájoš, xóc'ot and c'otír'i, t'ómnii, ból'i, m'íkc'i, klán'iims'i.

They include dialects in which /e/ replaces /o/ after soft consonants in all other unstressed positions, e.g. in Mari ASSR:[48]

mór'o, plát'jo, dájt'o, pól'om, stan'ot, kúpl'on but s'eló, v'elá.

(2) Exclusion of /o/

Some dialects oppose /e/ and /a/ after soft consonants, while desinences which in northern dialects have /o/ show either the former or the latter consistently, e.g. mór'e, pól'em, s'ín'ej, pózn'emu, búd'em or mór'a, etc.

In northern dialects which admit /o/ after hard consonants this vowel is normally e, as in a village southeast of Jaroslavl' city:[49]

m'ésto, čísto, mnógo, górodom but mór'e, četír'e, pól'em, búd'et,

These dialects are not as numerous as those with the maximal opposition of o, e and a, but are scattered over a large part of the North (Novgorod, Vologda, Jaroslavl', Arxangel'sk, Kirov).[50]

Some central dialects which have only /a/ after hard consonants (unstressed /o/ appearing only in pretonic position) admit the endings /e/ and /a/ after soft consonants. Thus, in central Kostroma:[51]

pól'e múže, s'érce, učén'je, v m'és'ice, víp'ik'et but also k t'ótk'i, búd'it and dvója pažil'éjt'a

In a dialect of eastern Kazaxstan:[53]

gustóje, zap'és'je (zapjast'e), v dóm'e, lúšše, dajd'ót'e, búd'et, pr'ijéd'eš, patrudn'ít'es'.

A variant of this pattern is found in some central dialects, e.g. in Leka (eastern Moscow obl.),[54] where both [ɑ] and unreduced [a] occur for etymological o and a, and [ɯ] and [i] for etymological e and ě;

pól'ɑ, s'ín'ɑj, rad'ít'ɯl'am vs. id'ítɯ', ap sýn'ɯ, f pól'ɯ, as well as pól'a, s'ín'aj and id'ít'i, ap sýn'i, f pól'i

This opposition of two reduced vowels is often only a variant of the three-vowel pattern (see below).[55]

(3) Exclusion of mid vowels

The predominant type of vocalism of final syllables in the South and in central a-dialects has only one non high vowel, /a/ or its reduced variant [ɑ]. The presence and distribution of [ɑ] vary between the dialects and can depend on such factors as the nature of the syllable (open or closed) and its position in the phrase. We shall not go into detail on these matters. The examples are from a Rostov dialect.[56]

tókar'am, s sótn'aj, kón'aj, p'ésn'aw but kolxóz'i, n'ézačim, xóčiš, dúmajit.

Likewise, in a Brjansk dialect with reduction of non-final vowels:[57]

xód'it'a, čitájt'a, znája, uv'íd'a and s tát'ɑm vs. u l'és'i, at mám'i, pósl'i.

This type of vocalism is found all over the South and in many central dialects.

(4) Neutralization of all unrounded vowels

In a few dialects east of Moscow (Vladimir, Gor'kij, and eastern Kalinin) /i/ can be facultatively reduced to [ ], falling together with the alternant of /e, o/ and /a/. In phrase-final syllables a full [a] may appear, as in a southern Vladimir dialect:[58]

xód'it, jét'ix and na tr'ét'im, dajéd'im, s'id'ʲ'ʲ'i, xaróšyi, v gór'i, vród'i but also plát'ɯx (Gpl), akt'ábr'sk'ɯj, nýn'ɯ, s'ín'ɯ mór'a, kakájɯ, takójɯ, učén' jɯ, m'ašálɑs'ɯ, t'ól'k'ɯ and xat'ít'a, n'a bójs'a, zzád'a, ub'íl'a, nýn'a, sprós'aš, u brát'jax, on jéd'at, tr'ét'jaj.

2.53. Restrictions between Soft Consonants

(1) Exclusion of /o/

On the analogy of the stressed endings -ój, -ójo, etc., many northern dialects admit unstressed /o/ after soft stems, e.g. s t'ót'oj like z'eml'ój. In other dialects there is free variation of /o/ and /e/ between soft consonants, as in central Vologda:[59]

króv'joj, nóc'joj, púl'oj, pózn'oj, rús'k'oj, c'ér'n'en'k'oj, n'e bójt'os'

but also s'ín'ej, útr'en'ej, nóc'jej, jíd'et'o, t'er'éjet's'e.

In general the verb ending -ot'e or -ot'o is very rare.

Some dialects do not permit C'oC' at all in endings. The examples are from eastern Kostroma.[60]

na tr'ét'om, bol'šíjo, im'én'of, búd'ot, pogl'ed'ít'o but tr'ét'ej, gor'ác'ej, d'er'évn'ej, t'án'etc'a.

(2) Restriction on /a/

Most of the dialects which otherwise exclude posttonic C'aC' do admit this sequence in grammatical endings, e.g. pám'et', d'es'et' but s'ín'aja (in the North) or pám'it', d'év'it' but s'ín'am'i, xód'at' (in the South). In some dialects, however, the restriction on /a/ also applies to endings, as in southern Arxangel'sk:[61]

n'id'íl'em'i like t'én'o š, pon'ét', ogn'ém'i and gl'ed'ít, s'emnátc'et'

In this dialect the adjective ending -aja is contracted: s'ín'a, xolód'n'a

It should be noted that -C'aC' is morphologically restricted in the North; the verb desinence -at' is rare, contraction of adjective endings is common, and

many dialects lack the instrumental plural in -amʲi, either through syncretism with the dative -am or substitution of other forms (-ama, -ima, etc.). Thus, in eastern Karelia:[62] pʲísʲnʲamʲi, dálʲnʲa dorógа, omʲí xódʲa, although some dialects have pʲísʲnʲemʲi; cf. dʲédʲa, tʲénʲo, lʲudʲémʲi, smʲijétsʲi.

(3) Exclusion of mid vowels

The alternation dúmajet, dúmajem/dúmaitʲe should be considered morphological rather than phonological. The dialects which exclude /e/ and /o/ between soft consonants are those which do not admit mid vowels after any soft consonant (see above, 2.52 (2)).

(4) Neutralization of all unrounded vowels

Some southern and east-central dialects permit only /i/ and /u/ between soft consonants. The examples are from western Kaluga.[63]

za dʲarʲévnʲij, at sasʲédʲij, z zʲátʲim, lʲísʲtʲjim, krʲílʲimʲi, trʲétʲij, zádnʲiju, tonʲitʲ; cf. vʲídʲutʲ and zʲ dʲitʲóju, kamnʲéj, ǧasʲtʲámʲi, etc.

Some of these forms are inconclusive in southern dialects; the instrumental -imi and /i/ in the present tense can be the result of morphological leveling, e.g. vʲídʲitʲ like xódʲitʲ (cf. xódʲutʲ like pʲísutʲ) and púlʲimʲi like nóvimʲi.

2.54. Restrictions on Nondesinential Vocalism

The following remarks are intended to summarize the environments in which vowels other than /u/ occur in unstressed position only in grammatical endings.

(1) Environments of /o/

a) After hard consonants /o/ appears only in endings in a few central border dialects, chiefly in the Northwest (Pskov, Novgorod). In some dialects this vowel is unrounded but still distinguished from /a/.

b) After soft consonants desinential /o/ is permitted in the great majority of northern dialects, including those (mainly in Jaroslavl', Vologda, Kostroma and Arxangel'sk) with ekanʲe in all other unstressed positions, e.g. sʲeló, bʲerú but mórʲom.

c) Between soft consonants /o/ occurs only in desinences in many northern dialects, especially in Kostroma, where morphological analogy is an important factor (sʲínʲoj like drugój), (Vologda and adjacent areas).[64]

(2) Environments of /e/

/e/ appears only in desinences, usually -t'e and locative -e, in a small number of widely scattered a-dialects, e.g. s'aló but v d'él'e. There may be northwestern o-dialects of this type, too, but in the Northwest these endings are generally -t'i and -i, and /e/ does not occur in unstressed positions. The distribution of nondesinential unstressed /e/ in some east-central dialects (Kalinin, Vladimir) is restricted to a few words like s't'ená, nav'erxú, but we have no evidence of any o-dialect in this area which lacks pretonic /e/.

In the Karelian dialect quoted earlier[65] /e/ appears as a free variant of /a/ in the instrumental plural ending -ami: p'ís'n'em'i, n'id'íl'em'i along with p'ís'n'am'i, n'id'íl'am'i.

(3) Environments of /a/

In many northeastern dialects unstressed /a/ between soft consonants is permitted only in desinences (Arxangel'sk, Vologda, Kirov, Perm, and the Urals), e.g. p'et'í, pón'el'i but s rod'ít'el'am'i in Kurgan.[66] Most of these dialects also exclude stressed /a/ between soft consonants: gor'éčoj, molčét'.

In some southern dialects with various patterns of unstressed vocalism the only forms with C'aC' are the instrumental plural and the 3d singular present tense, e.g. p'it'í but ǧróbl'am'i, búd'at'. Many southern dialects, however, generalize unstressed /i/ in verb endings: búd'iš, etc.

3. The Prosodic Features

3.1. The Distinctive Feature of Stress

3.11. In literary Russian every independent word contains one syllable that is spoken with greater force (loudness, tension, etc.) than the others; this is the stressed syllable. Certain kinds of compounds also have a secondary stress on the first component: jùžnorússkij, trëxáktnyj, àntibiótik,[1] The stress is free, i.e., it is not bound to any particular syllable, and mobile, i.e., it can change its place in the paradigm of inflected words (varít'/várit, tëplyj/tepló, domá/dóma, golová/ná golovu/gólovy/golóv). Stress alternations are discussed in the respective chapters on noun and verb morphology.

All dialects share the system of free, mobile stress common to the East Slavic languages. In the dialects, too, stress is both lexically and grammatically distinctive. Differences between the dialects concern the place of stress in individual lexical items (sosná/sósna, molodój/mólodoj) and in the system of stress alternations (varít/várit, gorú/góru, k sténe/stené).

3.12. According to a recent description of a northern Russian manuscript of the 16th century,[2] some northern dialects had a tendency to fix the stress on the penultimate syllable. The major exception to this shift is presumably the final closed syllable; forms such as zakón, obráz are assumed to have retained the stress by analogy with the oblique forms (though stressed forms like zákon do likewise occur). But such a phonological shift of stress from the final syllable is not attested in the modern Russian dialects. What we do find in the modern dialects are, for the most part, examples of morphological levelling of the type nogú, rukú, cenú, and lexical variants such as pášport/pašpórt. Some dialects do restrict stress from final syllables, but this restriction is morphological, not phonological, e.g., one Pskov dialect[3] has spína, góra, gólova, réka but also dočká, uxó, tixój; forms like golovú, vodú, zemljú make the accentual system of this dialect even more unclear. Other dialects present similar variations, In general, the northern dialects are more conservative; southern and western dialects tend to eliminate stress alternations within the singular or plural of substantives and the past tense of verbs (golová/golovú,

vorý/voróv, brála/dála), and to fix the stress on the present tense stem of verbs (kúpiš, sídiš).[4] Similarly, retraction of stress from nouns to prepositions is much more common in the northern dialects (zá reku, ná noč, pód večer, pó morju).

3.13. The only phonologically divergent treatment of stress is found in Zaonež'e (Karelia). In this area final stress is usually shifted to the word-initial (or proclitic) syllable. In some dialects the new variant of o is a distinctive phoneme /o̯a/, and in dialects with akan'e the new reflex of e is /a/: kv'áti (cvetý), t'áb'i (tebé), n'ás'i (nesí), sm'ášna (smešnó), c'ága (čegó), n'á xvat'iw (ne xvatíl), ná pec'i (na pečí), o̯patalak (potolók), o̯amman'it' (obmanít'), o̯kas'ja (NApl. of kost'). In some dialects with okan'e no new phonemes or vowel alternations are introduced: mói (moí), ótvar'i (otvorí), pógl'ežu (pogljažú), r'éka (reká), b'éz otca (bez otcá), s'óstra (sestrá). However, the available data concerning these dialects include various lexical items with final stress, so the stress shift cannot be considered automatic: manáx, sv'etój, towdá, l'ubóf. The role of stress and vowel alternations in these dialects is extremely interesting from a grammatical viewpoint; cf. such alternations as (dat.) rúkam, (instr.) rukám'i, (gensg.) o̯ákna, (npl.) ókna, (gensg.) o̯žáni, (npl.) žóni.

In a most recent study this phonological shift of stress which is unique among the Russian dialects is quite plausibly ascribed to the influence of neighboring Finnic dialects (Vepsian or Karelian).[5]

3.2. Redundant Prosodic Features

Pitch and length are not distinctive in Russian. However, as phonetic features they are utilized for redundant, expressive and stylistic effects. The features of quantity, loudness and pitch also vary in the dialects. Very little can be said at this point of investigation about sentence intonation in the dialects.

There are two basic types of word and phrase contours in the dialects, and many subvarieties. One type is represented by the great majority of northern dialects and a few scattered southern dialects. The other is represented by the literary language, the central dialects (from Pskov eastward, including both o- and a-dialects), the dialects southeast of Moscow (Rjazan', Penza), and the majority of southern and western dialects.

3.21. Vowel Intensity

3.21. Low-Relief Type

Investigators have repeatedly observed the relatively even rhythm of the word and phrase in the northern dialects. The stressed syllable is not much louder than the unstressed syllables, and the latter tend to be relatively uniform in both loudness and length. This has also been described as a "weak accent". The contour of word-accent can be described in numbers; (1) designates the strongest syllable.

gorodá	górod	iz góroda
2 2 1	1 2	2 1 3 2
	or 1 3	

Indeed, one study of an Arxangel'sk dialect gives such a large number of variants that one might suppose the stress in this dialect to be almost imperceptibly weak and hence easily transferred to other syllables:[6] p'ér'édál'í, s'ér'ebró, d'évóčka, dósk'í.

In another Arxangel'sk dialect[7] many archaic accents such as dó goroda, b'és sol'i, zá ostrof, ís p'eči, ná lošat', dvá dn'i, k r'ék'e, p'ervój, tr'et'éj, póspal, are found along with innovations like ú mostu, rúč'ej, vójna, drúgoj, kúrit' (Inf.), pl'újot. A comparison of these dialects with those of the Zaonež'e (see above) suggests that many of the initial stresses here, too, may be due to the influence of a Finnic substratum. The only other northern dialect in which such wide variation has been observed is the one in Pskov cited earlier, where most of the variants can be interpreted as the result of morphological analogy.

A result of the relatively even distribution of stress between syllables in the northern (as opposed to north central) dialects is the rare occurrence of vowel neutralization (o/a, e/i) and reduction in unstressed syllables. Good observers, however, have noted sporadic reduction in unstressed syllables. For example, in a central Vologda dialect,[8] reduction is rather common in posttonic syllables: xl'ebam, c'ésnaj, xólat, náda. In Karelia sm'órtnaj, za ánnaj, xorósaj, vadí;[9] in Kostroma paraxót, stárasta, v'ačorá, b'ar'eglá;[10] in southwestern Perm' damnó, staít, bazár, xoraš́ó, maskófskoj.[11] In some northern dialects any internal unstressed vowel can be reduced or even lost, e.g., z'mój, n'e govr'ít, d'éfška, na úl'cu (Arxangel'sk).[12] It is clear that the existence of a common variant [ɑ] of the phonemes /a/ and /o/ facilitates

the spread of akan'e (neutralization of unstressed /a/ and /o/) in northern dialects.[13] In this respect the northern dialects are more conservative than the southern, but not truly "archaic".

This type of word and phrase accent is now rare in southern dialects, but older studies make frequent reference to it. The best clue to a weak stress accent is the absence of vowel reduction in unstressed syllables (other than the pretonic). This is a recessive phenomenon in southern dialects; cf. the occasional references to a čistoe or otčetlivoe pronunciation of unstressed /a/ in the Academy of Sciences and Moscow Dialect Commission reports.[14]

One detailed study of a Kaluga dialect differentiates between an archaic style with relatively even stress and a secondary accent on final or initial syllables: p'irv'az'ít'e, u skawradáx, t'ót'in'ka, and a newer style similar to that of the literary language in which the pretonic vowel is considerably more prominent than any internal unstressed vowel: xaróšaja, čižaló, jármanak.[15] Similar observations have been made concerning dialects in Tula, Kursk, Lipeck, Voronež and Rostov.[16] Newer materials show that the literary Russian type of accent has spread to most southern dialects.[17]

It is clear that neutralization of a/o and a/e/i in unstressed syllables is a phenomenon independent of vowel reduction. For example, there are dialects in Siberia and the lower Don with akan'e or ikan'e without vowel reduction: malakó, pagad'ú, n'idap'óčin, akóšička,[18] whereas in many central dialects /o/ and /a/ contrast in pretonic syllables while other unstressed syllables are considerably reduced (see 3.22 below).

The above accentual pattern is found in northern dialects with complete okan'e (Novgorod, Arxangel'sk, Vologda, Kirov, Perm'), and in scattered southern dialects.

3.212. High-Relief Type

The second accentual type is characterized by a relatively heavy pretonic stress and reduction of all other unstressed syllables (with the exception in many dialects of the word-final or phrase-final).[19] There are two subtypes.

3.2121. Single-Peaked Type

In this type the stressed syllable is perceptibly louder than the pretonic syllable, while all other unstressed syllables are relatively weak, as in literary

Russian.

gorodá	górod	iz góroda
3 2 1	1 3	2 1 3 3

This system is characteristic of literary Russian, western Central dialects (pskov, Kalinin, Moscow), and most southern dialects (Smolensk, Brjansk, Kursk, Orel, Tula, Kaluga, Voronež) where type (1) has disappeared.

In dialects of this type with dissimilative akan'e (see pretonic vocalism) pretonic syllables with /a/ are also reduced before a stressed /á/:

dɑmá	vs.	damóf
3 1		2 1

In many of these dialects, however, pretonic /a/ is not reduced when it is preceded by a weak syllable, as in eastern Smolensk:[20]

stɑraná	for	staraná
3 2 1		3 3 1

Note, however, that if the antepretonic vowel is /i/ or /u/, there is a tendency to assimilate the reduced pretonic vowel: rukuvá .

3.2122. Double-Peaked Type

In a large number of dialects there is less reduction of the pretonic syllable and even more reduction of the other syllables. In some dialects the pretonic and stressed syllables are almost even:

gorodá	cf.	krásnen'kaja
4 2 1		1 3 3 2
	or	1 3 3 3

The degree of reduction of final syllables varies in different dialects. Other weak syllables are so reduced that they often disappear; however, absolute initial vowels are more stable in most dialects. The following examples from a Saratov dialect are less typical:[21] abloká, avdov'él, aposl'á. Noninitial antepretonic and nonfinal posttonic syllables are the weakest and hence most easily lost in these dialects, cf., in a Vladimir dialect:[22]

pasad'íš,	s'am'aná,	pastojánno
4 3 1	4 3 1	4 3 1 2

And in a Rjazan' dialect:[23]

pəǧvar'íl,	pasnav'íl,	jáǧdaf,	raskázvat'
3 0 2 1	3 0 2 1	1 0 2	3 1 0 2

This variety of accent with a strong pretonic syllable is found in a large

part of the east-central zone (Vladimir, Gor'kij, Tatar and Mari ASSR); the slightly weaker pretonic syllable with heavy reduction or loss of weak syllables is most common in Rjazan' and Penza. Thus, this system is found in both o-dialects and a-dialects.

3.22. Vowel Length

The length of unstressed vowels in different syllabic positions varies considerably in the dialects, and is related to intensity. For example, final vowels in many dialects are longer and more intense than other unstressed vowels. Two grammatical factors are relevant here: the morphological function of most final syllables and syntactic position (phrase-final). Lengthened phrase-final vowels are common to most northern dialects.[24] This is not easy to differentiate from what some observers have called a secondary stress on final syllables, e.g. jáblokò, xólodnò, kólokolò, výtaššil'ì (Vologda),[25] zá oz'erotò, po úl'icè, provál'ivajuts'è (Arxangel'sk).[26] The secondary stress need not be final; cf. vỳdad' it'é, dvàtc'et'í but kólokòlo, výt'er'eb'ìl'i along with bogátojò in another Vologda dialect.[27] This phenomenon is found in dialects with a weak stress (see above). Examples from a Kaluga dialect are p'ìrv'az'ít'e, z'érkalà, pó z'im'è, umýjut cà.[28]

A large group of southern dialects with the double-peaked stress shows length and/or intensity in final syllables, and hence little vowel reduction. In some of these dialects reduction is optional in final syllables, but nonfinal posttonic vowels are always weak. (Cf. the single-peaked type where all posttonic vowels are reduced.) Examples of length are: ǧórāt, d'évāk, d'én'āx, v'ét'ār, výšāl (Penza).[29] In some of these dialects [a] is the strong variant of reduced [ɑ] even where it is not etymologically justified, as in another Penza dialect: kánāl, fártāk, pól'āl, dóžāl (kánul, fártuk, pólil, dóžil).[30]

Consistent lengthening of final open syllables with severe reduction of nonfinal posttonic vowels is attested in a dialect of Tatar ASSR:[31] tópatā, dóragā, spútanā, but dorógaj, popútat'. Lengthening for emphasis is optional in one dialect with single-peaked stress type: pálačkā, druǧóvā, iza fs'éj móčī, zzád'ī (Moscow).[32] Most of these dialects are located southeast of Moscow (Moskva, Rjazan', Penza). Further east (Kujbyšev, Saratov, Baškir ASSR) both patterns are found. In the south (Orël, Voronež, Kursk), lengthening and the

lack of reduction of final syllables is more scattered.

The data available do not allow for a more precise classification of the prosodic systems of the dialects than the tripartite division into low relief, single-peaked and double-peaked given above. Within each group relative intensity and length are used to varying degrees by different dialects for stylistic purposes. Recent studies reflect a growing interest in this subject on the part of Russian dialectologists.[33]

III. The Consonantal Systems

1. Palatalized Consonants and Their Distribution

In literary Russian most consonant phonemes are members of pairs opposed as sharp vs. plain (palatalized vs. nonpalatalized). In the velar stops /k, g/ the opposition is restricted to a few lexical items (e.g. tkëš and substandard žgëš), foreign words (kjuvét, gjaúr) and placenames (Kjáxta). The velars, including /x/, are redundantly sharp before plain vowels. On the other hand, palatalization is never distinctive in the palatals /j, č, š, ž/ and in /c/. The inherent redundant softness of /č/ and /j/ is reflected in their assimilative influence on preceding consonants (and on following consonants in some dialects), as well as in the fronting of the flat vowels, e.g. čísta, jíx , but [šýla, cýrk].

In much of the published material palatalization is regarded as a familiar phenomenon and is not examined thoroughly. However, one can draw certain general conclusions about the inventories and distribution of palatalized consonants in the dialects.

1.1 Inventories

Palatalization is distinctive in all dialects in the sonorant pairs /r : r', l : l', n : n', m : m'/, in /v : v'/ (or /β : β'/), and in the labial obstruents /p : p', b: b'/. It may be excluded from any of the other consonants, i.e. a dialect may lack the palatalized velars /k', g', ǧ', x'/, dental obstruents /t', d', s', z'/ or labial /f'/.

1.11 Palatalized Velars

In almost all dialects, as in literary Russian, velars before the plain vowels /i, e/ are always palatalized, e.g. pag'íp, ruk'í, k'ém, snax'é . A few dialects, however, may lack palatalized velars, or did in the past, replacing them with mellow palatals or palatalized dentals, e.g. kíslaj, nóǧi or t'épka, rut'é (see below). In other dialects palatalization in velars has become distinctive, as it is marginally in literary Russian, in the stops (k or both k and g or k, g and x). In such cases it is almost always restricted to morpheme boundaries, e.g. palatalized /k', g'/ before /ó/ in the present tense (p'ek'óm, b'er'eg'ót) and hard /k, g, x/ before /é/ in adjectives (druǧéj), or through the generalization of an original phonemic variant, e.g. tráfk'a, jágatk'a like l'úl'k'a, čájk'a. In stems palatalization occurs in loanwords and names such as x'ódar (Fëdor).

Phonemic palatalization may involve:

1) all three velars, k', g'/ǧ' and x'

2) k' and g'/ǧ'

3) only k'

4) no velars

(1) This is the maximal system, and the rarest. The presence of /x'/ usually implies its voiced counterpart /ǧ'/ except for a small area in southern Novgorod where the stop /g'/ occurs, and also the absence of /f'/, since these dialects have /x'/ where most have /f'/. Examples from Penza are p'ik'óm, maǧ'óš, x'ókla[1] and from Novgorod p'ak'óš, žg'ót, x'ódor, p'irx'ón (a name).[2] This is mainly a western and southwestern phenomenon. Elsewhere it is found in parts of Rjazan' and Penza.[3]

(2) This system is the most common in both North and South, in dialects which have generalized the velar stops in the present tense stem. The voiced stop /g'/ is found all over the North and in central dialects, and the fricative /ǧ'/ is found in the West and South, as well as in scattered localities in the North, e.g. p'ek'ót, zapr'ag'óš in Murmansk[4] and t'ik'ót, b'ir'iǧ'óm in Kaluga.[5] However, this type is not common in the Southwest, where many dialects have /e/ in the present tense endings.[6]

(3) This is the literary system. In some dialects, as in the literary language, /k'/ is restricted to certain stems, tk'ó- and sk'ó- (dial. skát' "spin"), apparently to avoid an inadmissible initial cluster /tč/ or /sč/, e.g. tk'ót but p'ečót in dialects north and east of Moscow (Vologda, Rjazan', Mari ASSR).[7] Other dialects admit /k'/ in all verb stems, e.g. in Leningrad p'ek'óš, t'ek'ót but b'er'ežót.[8]

A southern variety of this type is found in dialects where /ǧ'/ has lost its friction and merged with /j/, e.g. str'iǧú but str'ijóš. The data are too scanty to determine how widespread this is.[9]

(4) This type, found primarily in the North, lacks palatalized velar phonemes. These dialects have either maintained the old K/Č alternation, as in Čuvaš ASSR:[10] tkú but tčóš, p'ečóš, generalized K and eliminated any alternation, as in Kirov:[11] p'ekú and p'ekót, str'igót, or generalized Č, e.g. p'ečú, p'ečóš and zapr'ažú.

zapr'ažóš.[12] In these dialects palatalized velars occur only before front vowels.

In the southern variety of this type the desinential vowel is /e/, so that the palatalization of velars is automatic, e.g. p'ek'ém, str'iǧ'ém (phonemically p'ekém, str'iǧém) in Rjazan'.[13]

Types 3 and 4 predominate in a broad north-central belt extending from Leningrad to Tatar ASSR (eastern Novgorod, parts of Vologda, Jaroslavl', Kalinin, Vladimir, Gor'kij).

1.12 Palatalized Dentals

In dental consonants all dialects maintain the opposition sharp : plain (hard : soft) in the sonorants /n : n'/ and at least optionally in the stops /t, d : t', d'/ and spirants /s, z : s', z'/ or both. However, there is evidence of a tendency in many dialects to increase the palatal element of /s', z'/, and less commonly /t', d'/, and thereby develop mellow palatal spirants /ś, ź/ and affricates /ć, ʒ́/. The following patterns are found in the dialects:

1) Palatalized dental /t', d'/ and /s', z'/
2) Palatalized /t', d'/ and palatal /ś, ź/
3) Palatal /ć, ʒ́/ and palatalized /s', z'/
4) Palatal /ć, ʒ́/ and /ś, ź/

For the replacement of /t', d'/ in some dialects by mediopalatal /ḱ, ǵ/ see the distributional rules below.

Type 1 is common to literary Russian and the great majority of dialects. It is found at least as a variant in dialects with the other patterns. The difference between dialects lies in the stronger palatalization of all consonants in the South as opposed to the North.[14]

Type 2 eliminates the sharp : plain opposition only in the continuants, and opposes mellow palatal /ś, ź/ to strident /š, ž/. It is found in three rather large areas, the North (Vologda, Arxangel'sk, Kostroma, Kirov), the West and Southwest (Pskov, Smolensk, Kaluga, Orel, Kursk) and the east-central zone (Rjazan', Vladimir, Gor'kij, Ul'janovsk) as well as in Siberia.[15] Thus, in Arxangel'sk[16] fśé, kośt'úm, śegódn'a, kuźn'éc, vźál'i, źd'éś but oi̯:éc, xod'ít', od'óža,

In a few western dialects only /s'/ is excluded, as in Smolensk:[17] śn'éx, uśé (vsé) but vz'át', z'imá,

The new palatals /ś, ź/ may be confused with /š, ž/, although complete neutralization does not seem to happen in any dialect. Examples from eastern Siberia are[18]

vóšem, d'éšet', šéšt', žeml'á, žel'ónoj and pɔs'ól, s'ípko, z'ivút

In type 3 palatalization is distinctive only in the continuants and, in dialects with hard /c/, in the voiceless affricate /ć/, as in an Ul'janovsk dialect: malaʒéc, ac'éc, kúr'ica, célaj vs. c'óplaj, z'áć, éćim, ućáti and ʒićám, aʒín, v'íʒal, klaʒót. Dialects of this type are not numerous and are widely scattered.[19] They are not found in the North.

In type 4 the oppositions are stop : affricate (/t, d : c', ʒ'/) and dental : palatal (/s, z : ś, ź/). In an Irkutsk dialect[20] both affricates are only redundantly palatalized, since the reflex of etymological c is /ć/: naʒaváj, kaśćám, fsáka, p'iśmá and aćéć. The great majority of dialects, however, have hard /c/, as in Vladimir:[21] aćéc, ćíxa, čitáć, ʒén', ʒáʒa, búʒat and śéna, fsú, źm'éj, vźál. These dialects are found in the West (Pskov, Kalinin, Smolensk) and east of Moscow to the Urals, but not in the North.[22]

Palatalization is distinctive only in the voiceless affricates in a few dialects in which /ć/ is the reflex of č, e.g. in Karelia:[23] kúr'ica, kol'có vs. nóć, ćás, ćórnoj. Whether this may be an opposition palatal : dental is impossible to determine from the literature; cf. car', cér'kof', koncí and c'ísto, c'áj, doc' in a Kostroma dialect.[24] The symbols c' and c'' are often used without any consistency, and most investigators note a wide range of variants in the palatal affricates. Furthermore, type 1 is rapidly replacing the others; there is evidence that as late as the nineteenth century palatals were more common than today, especially in the West.

1.13 Palatalized Labials

Palatalization is distinctive in the labial stops and m in all dialects, as well as in the voiced spirant, which is usually labiodental v, but, particularly in the West, may be bilabial β. Most dialects have the voiceless spirants /f, f'/, but many in the Southwest lack them and substitute /x, x'/ or /xv, xv'/. Dialects which have /f/ also have palatalized /f'/ (see chapter 5).

1.2. Neutralization of Palatalization.

In literary Russian the opposition between palatalized and non palatalized consonants is neutralized in certain environments, as illustrated in the table below. The + sign denotes the presence of the opposition C : C' and the - sign its absence, i.e. the occurence of only the hard or soft member of the pair.

	Environment				
Consonant type	_V	_#	_P/K	_Š	_T
l/l'	+	+	+	+	+
n/n'	+	+	+	+	-
r/r'	+	+	+	-	-
T/T'	+	+	+	-	-
P/P'	+	+	-	-	-
K/K'	(+)	-	-	-	-

1.21. The Opposition C/C' before Vowels

1.211. C/C' before e

In Standard Russian and most dialects there is a phonemic opposition of palatalized consonants before all vowels but e , with the exception of loanwords (e.g., témp, b'íznes) and at morpheme boundaries (e.g., abétom (ob ètom), cf. bíl: b'íl. Some dialects, however, show a tendency to extend the C/C' opposition to this position by hardening the soft consonants before /e/ while preserving palatalization before ê . Thus the vowels e and ê , which are distinct in some dialects, are reinterpreted here as positional variants of a single phoneme /e/ (cf. the similar distribution of i/y in the literary language). In other dialects the hardening effects some but not all soft consonants, so that the two mid vowels remain phonemically distinct.

Original nonpalatalized consonants have a redundant velarization which is not found in hardened consonants, i.e., the latter may be neither palatalized nor velarized, in which case they are usually identified as semisoft (polumjagki)[1] and marked in the phonetic transcriptions with a raised dot, e.g. strub˙ ẽlc,

kan' ẽĭšna in Vladimir.[2] In some (Vologda) dialects, however, the hardened consonants are usually velarized.[3] Although there are various degrees of hardening (or softening) depending on the specific consonants in different dialects, it appears that the degree of softening before [e] differs from that in other positions (especially before [ê]), entitling us to assume that the consonants in this position are phonemically hard.

When the C/C' opposition is thus introduced before /e/, it may hold for all paired consonants, e.g., sérca; s'éraj, mél'n'ica: m'él', gerán': nag'é, pakét, kél'ja in Moscow obl.[4] In some dialects, however, not all consonants contrast in this position, i.e., there is only an increase in the distribution of certain hard consonants. There are two types of dialects with this restricted hardening. In one type hardening before e may occur in labials and dentals only,[5] e.g., péj; p'él, dén': d'élo (presumably either K' or K alone occurs before e, although conclusive examples of this type are lacking). In the second type the opposition before e is restricted to labial consonants, e.g., b'élijo, v'éšu vs. d'vér'i, pekl'í (Vologda).[6]

The sonorants r, l may be hardened before e (the hardened l has the quality of the central European l),[7] t hus establishing the opposition of palatalization here, e.g., abréč: r'éčka; this may occur only in dialects which admit hardening of other consonants in this position.

In general, hardening before /e/ is more frequently attested in obstruents, but this may be a result of the investigators' perception .[8] In the Vologda-Kirov dialects the hardening of /v'/ is especially common; hardening of /t',d',n'/ is also common here, whereas otherwise sonorants remain soft.

The position of a palatalized consonant within the word may also be a factor in its hardening, as suggested in one report which states that half of all examples of hardened consonants occur word-initially (or in an initial cluster), although this too may have to do with investigators" perception.[10]

Hard consonants are probably first introduced before /e/ in stressed syllables (where the two unrounded mid vowels may occur),[11] and are then extended to the position before unstressed /e/, e.g. neznáj, vel'íl, stel'ú, delá (Vladimir),[12] and before other vowels. Nevertheless, hard consonants before unstressed /e/ are quite common in the particle ne and the prefixes and prepositions

bez, pere-, e.g., nenáda, bezvás, bezatcá, even in dialects where hard consonants otherwise occur only sporadically before /e/.[13]

In the dialects without C/C' opposition before e the palatalized consonant may appear automatically in this position, i.e. , [P'e, T'e, K'e]. In Standard Russian this is phonemically P'e, T'e, K'e, but in dialects without palatalized velar phonemes the phonemic representation is P'e, T'e, Ke, e.g. p'ét', v'és't', pl'ít'ét' but p'akét', maǧéš (p'ak'ét', maǧ'éš) in a Brjansk dialect.[14] In some dialects the high mid variant [ê] is not maintained and both hard and soft consonants appear before [e] in free variation;[15] in others the low mid variant [e] is not maintained in certain environments, and both hard and soft consonants occur before [ê], e.g., dên', dês'it', dêv'it', pêška vs. st'ênka, d'êla, n'iv'êsta (Kaluga).[16]

In the West (Smolensk, Brjansk, Orel, Kursk, Belgorod), velars preceding the stressed ending -e of adjectives are hard, while in the central zone (Kalinin, Vladimir)[17] they are automatically palatalized. Cf. western takéj, daraǧéj, plaxému like adnéj, sl'apému with east-central kak'éx, plox'ém (Loc.)[18]

In a few eastern Siberian dialects hard velars occur before /i/: škírt (skird), kíčut, pol'áki, mogíl'na, mógim, kn'ígi, xitr'éjo.[19] The absence of examples would indicate that before /e/ they are palatalized.

1.212. C/C' before Other Vowels

The hardening of palatalized consonants before vowels other than e represents only a redistribution of hard and soft consonants; it is, moreover, a much less consistenc phenomenon.[20] Of these vowels, /i/ is most commonly found preceded by a hardened consonant (approximately 1/5 of the examples from northern dialects),[21] e.g., oní, xvatílo, práznikom, vgósti, spasíbo as well as vmuzíje, dílal'i, sebí and in southern dialects with ikan'e, visná, tilúška.[22] The hardening of consonants before /o/ from e, ĭ is rarer, e.g. ovós, prosóxnot, uvezónoj; hardening before other vowels, e.g. varát, vodanája, lošadáx, lublú, pómnu[23] is even more unusual.

Hardened consonants before vowels are attested primarily[24] in two areas of the Northeast (Vologda-Jaroslavl' and Kirov-Kostroma-Gor'kij) but also occur in scattered southern (Kaluga, Tula, Rjazan')[25] and east-central dialects.[26]

1.213 Palatalized Velars and Dentals before Front Vowels.

In a number of dialects the palatalized velars before front vowels have become mellow palatals [ḱ, ǵ/j, c]; [ǵ] is found in dialects with a voiced stop /g/ and /j/ in those with a fricative /ɣ́/. That the counterpart of /ğ/ is not [ğ'] but /j/ is clear from the fact that voicing is not neutralized in the preceding consonant; cf. s'jínul, as before other sonorants, with z'ğínul in most southern dialects.[27] The result is an automatic alternation /ğ/- /j/, e.g. kníğa- kníji. Although the data are inconclusive, these dialects may lack palatalized velars altogether; the attested present tense forms are p'ečóš or p'ekóš, etc.[28] In some dialects, however, these mellow palatals are in free variation with palatalized [k', g'/ğ', x'].

In other dialects the new palatals are further fronted and merge with the palatalized dentals (in the case of [ǵ] there is usually some free variation), as in two neighboring Vladimir dialects:[29]

s't'ínul, durat'í, k r'et'é, tat'ím, s't'ip'él, mal'čit'i, m'élt'ix and krud'í, d'én'd'i, d'ektár, lad'er'á, ot ól'd'i, na dorǵd'e but also zaǵibáeš, d'én'ği, láger'.

In dialects with progressive palatalization of velars after soft consonants we find the same phenomenon, e.g. in Orel: mám'in't'a, kap'éjt'a, k xaz'ájt'i, čajt'ú, s uğal't'á. A marginal case of affrication of the new /t'/ has been observed in a few transitional central dialects:[31] stup'én'c'i, na láfc'i, kac'íi, ván'c'a.

Some dialects admit /t', d'/ within stems but maintain/k', g'/ at morpheme boundaries, e.g. t'íslaj, t'ínut', t'épka, d'íb'el', ánd'el but ruk'é, nog'é.[32]

In other dialects /k', g'/ replace etymological /t', d'/ within stems, as in Siberia: k'ésto, k'íxo, k'v'órdij, k'etrát' and more rarely g'én', g'év'it';[33] cf. in Kalinin: k'eátr, ap'ek'ít, k'ep'ér', k'ažoló, órg'en.[34] At morpheme boundaries /t'/ occurs regularly; such forms as plák'it, lápk'i have never been recorded. Furthermore, individual words with /k'/ instead of /t'/ are common to many dialects (notably počk'í).

Dialects with palatals in place of soft velars or the coalescence of soft dentals and velars are concentrated in the area directly north of Moscow (Kalinin, Moscow obl. southern Jaroslavl', Ivanovo, Vladimir) and scattered in pockets in many regions (Novgorod, Karelia, Smolensk, Tula, Orel, Gor'kij, Siberia).[35]

1.22 The Opposition C/C' before Consonants

(1) Palatalization in clusters

Hard and soft dentals are opposed before hard grave (labial and velar) consonants. Hard and soft l, l' are opposed before all paired consonants and palatals but not before c, where only l' occurs. Hard and soft n, n' are opposed before grave consonants and Š. Hard and soft r, r' are opposed before hard grave consonants.

(2) Neutralization of palatalization in clusters

Before soft dentals, dentals are normally soft, although there is a certain tendency to reduce or lose palatalization in prefixes, e.g. rast'irát' along with ras't'irát'; grave consonants and r are hard: pt'íca, lókt'i, pórt'it'.

Before soft labials grave consonants are hard, although v is optionally soft, e.g. v'b'ižat' as well as vb'ižát'; r is hard with a few exceptions (čér'f', p'ér'm'); and dentals are usually soft, although there is a tendency for hard dentals to appear in stems which otherwise have a morphophonemic alternation, e.g. dv'é, na b'ítv'e (cf. dvá, b'ítva), in initial position, e.g. zv'ér', sm'él as well as z'v'ér', s'm'él, and particularly at prefix boundaries: padv'ól, atp'irát'.

Before soft velars labials and dentals are hard, while velars are soft: bápk'i, na dask'é but m'áx'k'ix.

Before Š only hard consonants appear with the exception of n' and l'.

Before č and šč grave consonants and r are hard and dentals are soft.

Before c all consonants are hard except l', which is always soft.

Before j all consonants inside stems and S in prefixes are soft; grave consonants and T in prefixes are hard: b'jú, plát'ja, sv'in'já and s'jél'i, iz'jámi but atjéxal, abjóm.

The dialects can differ from the literary language by either (a) eliminating the sharp : plain opposition in some environments, (b) maintaining redundant palatalization where the latter has lost it, or (c) introducing nondistinctive assimilatory palatalization in new environments.

1.221. Depalatalization

Some dialects exclude soft l' before n, e.g. in Vologda: bólno, s'íno, vólnoj, šalnój, kolokólna.[36] This phenomenon is found in scattered pockets in the North

(chiefly Vologda and eastern Kostroma). Many dialects in this same area have w as a positional variant of prevocalic hard l; here [l] might be regarded as a variant of soft l', e.g. bólno vs. pówno.[37]

The hardening of l' before palatals is more common, as in Vladimir: dólže, bólše and m'élče, žálče, málčik, kolokólčik.[38] These dialects are scattered from Arxangel'sk to southern Gor'kij and eastward to the Urals.

A rather large number of dialects exclude soft n' before palatals, e.g. m'énše, ránše, ženšina. They are found in the same northern areas mentioned above (Vologda and adjacent regions), Jaroslavl', Vladimir, scattered parts of Novgorod, and the Southwest.[39]

Although prevocalic palatalized r' is maintained in all dialects, in many there is a strong tendency to lose palatalization after velar stops before i. This is largely a lexical phenomenon, and such forms as gríp, kričat' are widely attested. In a few dialects, however, depalatalization seems to be systematic, e.g. in Tjumen': krík, krílos (kliros), skrípka, krisánof (name), gríp, cf. also kaprízn̆oj.[40]

Palatalization of dentals before soft consonants seems to be generally the same in the dialects as in literary Russian, e.g. plót'n'ik, práz'n'ik, l'és'n'ica but dv'ér'i, dv'ínut' in western Arxangel'sk,[41] although plótn'ik is found sporadically in both North and South; the data are too fragmentary to afford any conclusions. One rare cluster which is eliminated in a number of northern and north-central dialects is d'b; hence svárba, usárba or, more rarely, sválba. However, other dialects in the same area replace d' with palatalized r': svár'ba. Since sud'bá is never quoted, it is impossible to determine whether the relevant factor is palatalization, occlusion or position of stress. (See the chapter on consonant clusters.)

Labials are depalatalized before j in a relatively large number of dialects, e.g. ubjú, pjéš, ján'ica, u s'amjí, varabjá. In the West this is undoubtedly related to a general tendency to restrict palatalized labials to prevocalic position, and a few border dialects show sporadic hard P + j in place of P' before vowels, e.g. ǧalubjátk'i, ímja, vr'émjuška in Smolensk.[42] Hardening of labials is mainly western (southern Pskov, Smolensk, Brjansk), but is also found in scattered areas as far east as western Vologda and Vladimir.[43]

1.222. Retention of Nondistinctive Palatalization.

Some dialects have palatalization, particularly of sonorants, in certain environments where it has been lost in the literary language and a majority of the dialects.

Soft r' before labials and velars is quite common, e.g. s'ér'p, p'ér'voj, četv'ér'k, cér'kva, d'ér'gat', v'ér'x. This conservative phenomenon has been observed both in the North (Vologda, Kostroma, etc.) and the South (Kursk, Kaluga, Rjazan') Our data are not adequate for a more precise geographical statement, but hard r does seem to be a western and central innovation. Many dialects have free variation.

Soft r' is retained before c in a number of central dialects, e.g. s'ér'ce, ogur'cí. Data for this phenomenon in the South is extremely scanty, but it is widespread southeast of Moscow.[44] In the North it is often related to soft cokanie, i.e. palatalized r' is maintained in dialects which have or recently had soft c', e.g. s'ér'c'o, p'ér'c'a, ogor'c'ét' (ogorčat').

Soft n' is also retained before c in a number of dialects, e.g. són'co, kon'cá, polot'én'co. As in the preceding case, palatalization in the North is often a reflection of present or former soft cokan'ɔ.[45] Elsewhere it is found in the same general areas as r'c, but is more common.

Another well-known kind of nondistinctive palatalization is found at the morpheme boundary before the adjective suffix -skoj. The consonants involved are n', less often r', and more rarely t' and m', e.g. žen'skoj, cár'skoj, sov'ét'skoj, zém'skoj, and with simplification of the geminate, rús'koj. In some of these dialects s is palatalized by assimilation; thus in Kirov: kr'es'ján's'koj, kum'ón's'koj, star'ikós'kova,[46] but hard s is equally common (cf. literary iún'skij). (See the remarks below on progressive palatalization). Palatalization is retained in adjective bases in two separate areas: the extreme West (Pskov, Brjan sk) and a large part of the North (Vologda, Arxangel'sk, Kirov, Kostroma and adjacent regions as far south as Vladimir), frequently interspersed among dialects with depalatalized consonants.[47] Assimilative palatalization of s is found in both areas but most consistently in the Northeast.

1.223. Assimilative Palatalization

1.2231. Regressive Palatalization of Labials.

Palatalization is not distinctive in labials before consonants. In the literary language and most dialects hard labials are generalized before soft consonants: lámp'e, pt'íca, mn'é, láfk'i. In a number of east-central dialects, however, labials are regularly assimilated to palatalized velars: d'éf'k'i, láp'k'i, rám'k'i. This occurs both in dialects with phonemic K' and in those where K' is a positional variant of K before front vowels.[48]

1.2232. Progressive Palatalization

(1) Velars

In many dialects velars are subject to palatalization after palatalized or palatal consonants, e.g. r'ét'k'a, s'er'g'á, ól'x'a, kúčk'a, čájk'a.[49] The phenomenon is almost always phonetic: only in the case where a suffix -k'a appears by analogy after hard consonants (e.g. tráfk'a like čájk'a) can k' be regarded as at least a marginal, optional phoneme.[50]

These dialects differ both in the number of velars subject to assimilation i.e. k, g, x, k, g or only k, and in the consonants which cause it. It should be noted that k occurs in this position far more frequently than either g or x, owing to the derivational suffix -#k-. Only two stems with g (ol'g-, d'en'#g-) and two with x (ol'x-, v'er'x-) are widely attested, and only d'en'#g- is common to all dialects. Evaluation of the date is further complicated by the failure to cite g and x in many older reports.

We can distinguish between dialects in which all velars may be palatalized, e.g. čájk'a, d'en'g'ám, sv'ér'x'u and those in which only stops are, i.e. čájk'a and in the North ól'g'a but ól'xa . The first type is found in pockets, chiefly in the Northeast (eastern Kalinin, Vologda, Kostroma, northern Gor'kij).[51] The second type is found in both the North and South, e.g. in Orel: n'án'k'u, uǧal'k'óm, čajk'ú, p'éčk'a, ačk'ám'i, where /k'/ attains phonemic status through its presence in the verb paradigm: p'ik'ót'.[52] The southern pattern with only [k'] is found in a large area south of Moscow excluding the West (Kaluga, Orel, Kursk, Lipeck, Voronež, Tula, Rjazan', Tambov). The northern pattern with [k', g'] is much less common,[53] confined to pockets in eastern Novgorod, central Vologda

southward to Jaroslavl' and eastward to northern Gor'kij, and separately in a large part of Kirov.[54]

We can further distinguish the dialects according to the assimilatory effect of various consonants, i.e. palatalized n', l', t', r', s' and palatal č, j (as well as c' in dialects with soft cokanie or c in a few dialects where c' has been hardened only recently, and š́ in dialects where č has lost its occlusion). In some dialects palatalization may also appear after š, e.g. kóšk'a, nóšk'a, but they are widely scattered and it is never systematic, with the exception of rare northern dialects with soft š́/ž́. Such forms are most plausibly explained by analogy; cf. the sporadic occurrence of [k'] after hard consonants and even vowels: tráfk'a, jágotk'a, mál'čik'om, k práz'n'ik'u.[55]

The following patterns are found:

1) after paired palatalized consonants

2) after paired palatalized consonants and

a) č (or its reflexes c' or š́) and j

b) only č

c) only j

Type 1 is found in three areas in the North: eastern Novgorod, Jaroslavl'-Kostroma and Kirov-Perm'.[56] Our data for the South is inadequate. These dialects have tól'k'o, ván'k'a, gór'k'o, r'ét'k'a, rús'k'oj but dóčka, čáika.

Type 2a, with maximal palatalization, is typically southern, but is also found in the North, principally in central Vologda and southern Kirov.[57] However, in some northern dialects the -k- of adjective suffixes and/or the verbal particle ko/ka are not palatalized, e.g. in Ivanovo n'án'k'a, kól'k'a, z'ór'k'a, od'óška, kop'éjk'a, mtášečk'a, ól'g'a, d'en'g'ám but mušs'kój, žén's'koj,[58] and in Kirov mál'en'k'oj, sk'ol'ko, t'ót'k'a, k'itájk'a, moskós'k'aja, z'ém's'k'oj, igráj-k'o, kóčk'a, moločk'ó, d'ér'g'al, s'er'g'á, d'en'g'ú but also fstán'-ko, z'el'ón'en'koj,[59] and in a Vladimir dialect mán'en'k'a, t'ót'k'a vs. pójt'ka (pojdí-ka) or pójka.[60]

Type 2b is scattered over a large part of the North, from central Vologda to southern Jaroslavl', Ivanovo and northern Gor'kij and central Kirov.[61] The following examples are from a Vologda dialect:[62] tól'k'o, r'ít'k'a, d'én'g'am, rús'k'oj, mus'k'ój and mužyčk'ú but kop'éjka, xoz'éjka, čajkóm.

Type 2c is found in the South and Southwest (from Brjansk to Voronež), a belt in the Southeast (Vladimir, Rjazan', Tambov, western Saratov), eastern Novgorod and part of the North (Jaroslavl', Kostroma, northern Gor'kij).[63] The examples are from a Tambov dialect spoken in the Urals (Čeljabinsk):[64] mál'in'k'a, d'in'k'óm, tól'k'a, gus'k'óm, ól'g'a, s'v'ér'x'u and k'itájk'af, zdrásvuj-k'a, čajk'ú but dóčka, malačká, r'éčku .

In many of these dialects there is a tendency to retain [k'] after consonants which were originally soft, e.g. saxark'ú, rúsk'aj, ženśk'oj, and to generalize it after hard consonants, e.g. júpk'a, útk'a, slátk'aj, tráwk'u, and even vowels, e.g. pl'im'én'n'ik'a, práz'n'ik'u, muzyk'óf.[65] Free variation of k and k' is also found sporadically in both North and South.[66]

(2) Dentals

Dental consonants undergo progressive palatalization after l' in some northern dialects (eastern Leningrad obl., Karelia, Arxangel'sk, western Vologda and Jaroslavl'), e.g. ból'n'o, l'd'ú, kol'n'út'. The following examples are from Karelia:[67] s'íl'n'a, práv'il'n'a, ad'd'él'n'a, ab'azát'il'n'a, ud'iviít'il'n'a, l'n'ú. Note that these areas are directly west of the zone of palatalization of velars; thus vól'n'o, l'd'ú and l'úl'ka, ugol'k'ú, will not be found in the same dialects except in a small part of central Vologda.[68]

The generalization of n' in adjective stems can sometimes be considered a morphological rather than phonetic development; xolódn'oj is common as far east as Kirov. Cf. bol'n'ój, stal'n'ój but l'nú, l'dú in a Leningrad dialect.[69] However, palatalization is surely phonetic in some dialects: e.g. in western Arxangel'sk l'du, l'n'í, bol'n'íi, pal't'ó, dovól'n'o, od'd'el'n'o and by analogy after hard consonants grámotn'oj, vostóč'n'iju, saxárn'oj.[70]

1.23. Depalatalization of Word-final Consonants

Final p' and m' are depalatalized in a rather large area of the West from Leningrad to Belgorod with a particular concentration in Smolensk,[71] and extending as far east as Kalinin city and scattered parts of Vologda, Kostroma, Kirov and Perm'.[72] In the Southwest (Kaluga, Orel, western Tula) these dialects are interspersed with dialects which admit soft final labials, and in most of the North (Novgorod, Vologda, Arxangel'sk, Jaroslavl') this phenomenon is lexical and not systematic

The hardening of v is related to its phonetic quality; some western dialects admit final p' and m' but not [β'] or [f'], which have the variant [w], e.g. yós'am', ǧólup' but l'ubów. The fricatives [β', f'] are more typical of the North (see the chapter on grave spirants). The nonstrident labials m' and p' are normally treated alike.

Note also that dialects with depalatalization in word-final position do not have assimilative palatalization before velars, e.g. pr'iǧatóβ, ǧólup, s'ém and d'eβk'i, šč́épk'i in Kursk.[73] The presence of soft final labials and the absence of assimilative palatalization is quite usual, e.g. krof', s'ěm' but láfk'i, júpk'i in Arxangel'sk.[74]

Hardening of final labials and labials before j are independent phenomena; cf. pjánij, pjót, vorobjóm but rúp' (rubl'), cép', króf' in Ivanovo,[75] and ub'jú, p'jét', v'ir'ib'jóm but ǧólup, cép, s'ém, žuráf in Kursk.[76]

Final -t' is replaced by hard -t, although never consistently, in a few northern dialects, viz. id'í rabótat, jéxat nádo, lóšat, pút, krovát but k krovát'e, na lošad'é in central Vologda.[77] A factor in depalatalization may be assimilation to the particle -to, e.g. spát-to, krovát-to as well as the relatively weak palatalization of stops in many northern dialects. (For hard -t in infinitives see the chapter on verb morphology.)

2. The Voiced/Voiceless Opposition.

In literary Russian all consonants admit distinctive voicing except the obstruents /c, č, x/ and the sonorants /m, n, r, l/.[1] There are ten voiced/voiceless pairs (p/b, p'/b', etc.) The following distributional restrictions apply to paired voiced/voiceless consonants:

1) They contrast only before vowels, sonorants and /v, v'/, e.g dál : tám, dravá : travá, zvát' : svát ;

2) The voiced member occurs before all other voiced consonants: ódzif, próz'ba, abžéč, g dómu and optionally across word boundaries: brád gavar'ít; the unpaired obstruents have voiced variants in this position: [dóǯ bylá, at'éz býl, s'm'éǧ by];

3) The voiceless member occurs elsewhere, i.e. before voiceless consonants (including / c, č, x/) and pause: /górat, gólup', atp'íl, ats'éf, rasxót, zúpčik, kalótca/.

Sonorants have voiceless variants: a) word-finally after voiceless consonants, e.g. p'ótr̥, p'és'p', dráxm̥, mýsl̥' , and b) word-initially before voiceless consonants, e.g. r̥tá, l̥'s't'ít', m̥s't'ít' .

2.1 Variations in Inventories.

Voicing is distinctive in all dialects, but the number of voiced/voiceless continuants may vary; in addition to the literary f/v, f'/v', s'/z' some dialects admit the pairs x/ǧ, x'/ǧ', while others may lack any one of these pairs. Voicing is distinctive in velar stops (k/g) in northern and central dialects (as in literary Russian) and in velar continuants (x/ǧ) in the South.[2] In the labial continuants voicing is not distinctive in dialects which lack /f, f'/; these dialects may have either labiodental /v/ or a bilabial spirant /β/, and either may have a positional variant [f], e.g. karóva-karóf (see chapter 5). The opposition s'/z' is absent in dialects where the mellow palatal /ś/ (from s') is opposed to /š/ (see chapter 3).

The pairs which are present in some dialects but not in the literary language are the palatal stops /č, ǯ/ or /ć, ǵ/ (see chapter 4) and the palatalized velars /k' , g'/ (see chapter 1).

2.2 Neutralization of Voicing.

The distribution of voiced/ voiceless consonants in the dialects is essentially the same as in literary Russian, i.e. the opposition is neutralized before obstruents and silence (pause), but a few dialects do not neutralize this opposition in all positions. A Gor'kij dialect[3] retains voiced consonants before voiceless and word-finally, e.g. lób, xl'éb, kóvta, króv, karóv, grúd, v'ít'az', sl'óz, malad'óž, nalóg. This phenomenon has been observed in scattered east-central dialects (Jaroslavl', Kostroma, Vladimir, Rjazan', Gor'kij).[4]

3. Palatal Consonants

3.1 Inventories of Palatals.

The palatal consonants of literary Russian are the strident (hard) continuants /š, ž/, which are opposed as voiceless/voiced, and the voiceless mellow (soft) stop /č/, which has a voiced positional variant [ǯ] (see chapter 2). They can be represented schematically as:

č	š
-	ž

This is the most common system in the dialects, although in some the redundant feature of stridency (in /š, ž/) or mellowness (in /č/) may be absent.

Other dialects differ from the literary language in the implementation of the strident/mellow and voiced/voiceless oppositions. All dialects have the continuants /š, ž/. Some introduce the opposition of voicing in the stops /č : ǯ/, while others distinguish strident/mellow continuants /š, ž : ś, ź/.[1] The mellow continuants replace palatalized /s', z'/; this phenomenon is traditionally called šepeljavost'. The voiceless mellow continuant /ś/ or /ʃ́/ replaces either palatalized /s'/ or the affricate /č/. A minimal system with only the continuants /š, ž/ is found in dialects with hard cokan'e, i.e. where the palatal stop is replaced by dental /c/ (see chapter 4).

The following dialectal types can thus be distinguished:

(1)

č	š
ǯ	ž

In this type voicing is distinctive in the stops as well as the continuants. All four palatals are redundantly strident. Examples from western Brjansk are: paǧl'aǯú, xaǯí, xúǯi, ǯigál'it' ("sting"). Dialects of this type are confined to a small strip of western Brjansk and northwestern Smolensk on the border of the BRSSR (note that ǯ is a Belorussian feature).[2]

(2)

č/ć	š
-	ž

In type 2 the strident/mellow opposition is distinctive in the voiceless stops;

etymological c is replaced with strident /č/. This is the rarest system, attested only in the extreme Northwest (Karelia) and in Western Vologda (see chapter 4). Examples are l'ičó, kon'éč, són'ča, čv'etí vs. ćáj, ćásto, ćísto, Mellow/ć/ also appears occasionally in place of etymological c: ofćá, pál'ći.[3]

Some dialects may admit /ć/ in place of palatalized /t'/, but whether this is a true palatal is often unclear. The usual reflexes of soft dentals in these dialects are palatalized dental /c'/ and its voiced counterpart /ʒ'/. This phenomenon is known as cekan'e (see chapter 1).

(3)

(č)	š/ś
-	ž

Type 3 admits the strident/mellow opposition in the voiceless continuants. The /ś/ replaces either palatalized s' or the palatal stop č. In a Kirov dialect[4] the mellow palatal /ś/ replaces s', but ź does not replace /z'/, e.g. kośít', fśákoj, śín'ega but z'el'ézo, práz'n'ik, z'ét'. The palatal stop /č/ is often replaced by [c']: četýr'e, n'éčevo, p'éčka but also f p'ec'é, zamóc'ek and r'éćka, sám'ći. This pattern is also found in the West (Pskov, Smolensk).[5]

In a much more common variety the mellow continuant /ś/ or /ś́/ replaces the palatal stop č, as in Kaluga:[6] śém, uśít', p'éś, r'éśka, nóśju, śudnó.

These dialects are found in a large part of the Southwest (Kursk, Orel, Kaluga, Smolensk), the Northeast (Kirov, Perm' and the Urals) and sporadically east of Moscow.[7] In most eastern dialects, however, /č/ is preserved at least optionally, as /ś́/ is restricted to a small number of words. In the Southwest and Northeast the dental affricate /c/ may likewise be absent (see chapter 4).

(4)

(č)/ć	š/ś
ʒ́	ž/ź

In this type the strident/mellow opposition is present in the palatal continuants, and in most dialects in the stops. Mellow /ć, ʒ́, ś, ź/ are substitutions for the original soft dentals t', d', s', z'. Examples from a Pskov dialect are: ćóplij, ćur'má, ʒ́élal'i, ʒ́v'é, śéna, fśíx, v'eźʒ́é, źórna; cf. p'éč, na čínka. Sometimes the palatal stop č (ć) is confused with t' or even t: pl'ićóna, v nót, m'élat, jaít.[8]

This system is found only in Pskov and a few scattered villages east of Moscow.

A few eastern (Rjazan', Vladimir, Gor'kij) dialects in which č̲ is replaced by c̲ maintain the strident/mellow opposition only in the continuants, e.g. śíla, źimá, máć, iʒ́ót but cás, dócka, nóc,[9] (See chapter 4) Other dialects in this area retain original č̲ and c̲ (cf. the Pskov dialect above). Another variety of this type, lacking the voiced palatal stop but maintaining the strident/mellow opposition in the continuants is

	č	š/ś
	-	ž/ź

e.g. in Arxangel'sk:[10] fśé, kośt'úm, vźál, źd'éś; cf. slíšal, dúmaš, žíto, molóže, In other dialects the mellow continuants are in free variation with palatalized /s', z'/, as in southern Vladimir:[11] śéna, źimój, vaźít' along with s'énam, s'istr'é, vaz'm'ót .

Type 4 is found in the West (Pskov, Smolensk, Brjansk) and widely scattered parts of the North and East (including Siberia).[12]

3.2. Mellowness as a Redundant Feature.

The mellow or strident quality of the palatals may differ from that of literary Russian, where the continuants /š, ž/ are always redundantly strident and the stop /č/ always redundantly mellow. Although the phenomenon is not inconsistent (as a result of mutual interference or the influence of the literary language) the following patterns can be distinguished:

1) all palatals are strident, i.e. [č] is "hard"
2) all palatals are mellow, i.e. [ś, ź] are "soft"
3) the continuants have a mellow variant before /i/ or before front vowels and /o/ from e̲ (hence the variant of i̲ after palatals is [i] rather than [y]).

Examples of type 1 from Gor'kij[13] are čavó, čatýr'i, čysý, pláčyt, dóčka . Hard /č/ is common in the West (Pskov, Smolensk; cf. Belorussian) and the East (Gor'kij, Tatar ASSR, Ul'janovsk).[14]

Examples of type 2 in a southern Novgorod dialect are[15] dusá, súm, sít', źárko, požár, zít' . This is chiefly a northern phenomenon, rather widely scattered

except for a large part of Kirov, and also found in Siberia.

Examples of type 3 in a Kostroma dialect are[16] šák, šúba, žár and ś̌ílo, ź̌íto, ź̌ír . Cf. also ś̌ów, ź̌óskoj in a western Vologda dialect.[17] These dialects are northern, scattered among those of type 2.

Dialects of types 2 and 3 usually have mellow palatals before palatalized consonants, e.g. or'ésn'ik, kvasn'á.

3.3. Elimination of Palatals.

There is evidence of a confusion of the opposition between the palatal continuants š, ž and the dental continuants x, z in scattered dialects. For example, in Rostov[18] confusion of /š, ž/ with /s, z/ was noted in the speech of women, often as a result of assimilation: u náš, šórak, šašlá, prat'éš (protéz), ražašl'ís'a and saláš, sál' (šal'), sasl á, zámus, bárza, paizzáj, z'il'éza. In a Siberian dialect[19] /š, ž/ may replace /s, z/ but not vice versa: šuxój, višókaj, ut'óši, šónca, škažál, št'aná, ražvod'ít'. In another Siberian dialect /š, ž/ are represented as [š^{s}, ž^{z}] and /s', z'/ as [ś, ź], e.g. š^{s}úba, paž^{z}ár, s^{š}ajd'ót, z^{ž}al'éžit, vźál .[20] Confusion of the palatals with soft t', s', z' and less commonly with s, z is attested in scattered areas of European Russia (Pskov, Vologda, Rjazan'), e.g. śolóma, morós, źvalá, poźno and štól, žnáju in Vologda.[21]

3.4. Palatal Clusters.

In the Moscow literary norm there are two sequences of palatal consonants, voiceless /šš/ and voiced /žž/. Within a morpheme they are redundantly mellow; across morpheme boundaries the voiced member is strident; thus doždjá and s ženój are dažžá and ž žynój . In the Leningrad norm the voiceless cluster is mellow and the second element is an affricate (as in Moscow over prefix boundaries), while the voiced cluster is strident, i.e. [ś̌c] and [žž]. In the following discussion we shall regard the homorganic sequences (šš/žž, ś̌ś̌/ź̌ź̌) as geminates rather than true clusters.

3.41 Geminate Palatals.

In the dialects we find both voiceless and voiced palatal geminates or clusters, and they may be either strident or mellow. A few dialects eliminate palatal geminates in favor of palatals plus palatalized dental stops šť, žď.

In most dialects the redundant features are the same in both voiced and voiceless clusters. In many, however, only the voiceless is strident or affricative or both, but almost never vice versa. Thus the following pairs occur: šš/žž, śś/źź, šč/žǯ, ǰč/źǯ, and with redundant differentiation: šč/žž, śč/źź and śš/žž, śč/žž. The pair šš/źź in g. Uglič, Jaroslavl', is extremely unusual: oššó, pušśáj but jéźžu, doźźá.[22] Cf. in Kirov šš oká, slášše but vozźí, sjezźátca.[23]

The great majority of the dialects have the strident geminates šš/žž, e.g. šš úka, róšša, vóžžy, žužžát'. They are found in the South and North, most of the Northwest, and a large part of the East (parts of Vladimir and Gor'kij and the entire area southeast of Rjazan' and east of Gor'kij).[24]

The strident clusters with affrication šč/žǯ are found in two areas, the far West (Pskov, Smolensk, Brjansk) and parts of the North (Novgorod, Karelia, Vologda), as well as in scattered east-central dialects. Examples from central Vologda are šč ypát', proščú, uježǯát', brýžǯu.[25] The occurrence of /šč/ in place of /šš/ is attested in a Gor'kij dialect,[26] e.g. šč yvát', šč apkoj.

The strident cluster šč is found sporadically over the entire area where šš/žž is usual, e.g. in Tatar ASSR[27] išcó, v'éšc but dróžžy, vožžá, sježžátca and in Belgorod[28] gúšča, šcót but dažžá, vyjažžát'.

In a rather large number of dialects only the voiceless sequence has the affricate element. Both strident and mellow varieties occur.

The mellow geminates ss'/zz', e.g. dóss', íssu, zzót, žuzzát', jézzu, predominate in the central zone (Kalinin, Moskva, Jaroslavl', Vladimir, Gor'kij), and in many scattered areas of the North and South, particularly the latter.

Free variation between strident and mellow voiceless geminates (always with strident žž) or strident and mellow voiced geminates (always with mellow žž) is neither rare nor peculiar to any region. On the other hand, a regular pattern ss'/zz' has been observed in a number of dialects on the periphery of the area where both clusters are mellow, e.g. in Ivanovo, Rjazan', Tambov, etc.[29]

In areas where the simple palatals š/ž are mellow only before front vowels and before /o/ (from e) the geminates may observe the same variation, as in Kirov:[30] pušš'ál, dožžóm, íšš'ut but ovoss'éj, slás'se, drózz'i.

Mellow pairs are likewise found chiefly in the area where ss'/zz' are usual, e.g. in Gor'kij[31] puščú, taščí but dozžá, vóžži. In an Arxangel'sk dialect[32] the affricate is an occasional variant: óvoščí, íšče (íščet), proščát' and n'e v'ížžu, projéžžogo but also doží.

In a transitional type (represented by the Leningrad literary norm) /šš/ is mellow with affrication, while /žž/ is a strident geminate, e.g. in Leningrad obl.[33] t'ósca, ješčó but vóžžy, jéžžu.

The mellow clusters with affrication šč/žʒ, are uncommon, found in scattered northern and central dialects, as in Kalinin[34] t'óščа, jaščó, dažʒá, jéžʒu.

A few dialects with cokan'e have a cluster /sč/ in which only the second element is palatal, e.g. in Baškir ASSR[35] isčó, jáščik, sirúščoj, ščót, cesčú (from čestit').

In dialects with strident palatals the clusters across morpheme boundaries

particularly prefixal, tend to be mellow, i.e. in the cluster s-č the latter retains its mellow quality, e.g. ššúka, v'ešši but rascítát' and grúščik. It should also be noted that the words ešče, šči, sčet and dóžd' frequently show peculiarities not found in the general treatment of palatal clusters.[36]

3.42. Elimination of Palatal Clusters.

The palatal clusters and geminates may have positional and morphophonemic variants. For example, in many dialects they are simplified in preconsonantal, postconsonantal and/or final position, e.g. pomóšn'ik, kám'enšik, továriš, and less commonly after a stressed vowel, dóš, v'éš.

A few dialects, mainly in Vologda and adjacent areas (Karelia, Arxangel'sk), replace the mellow palatal clusters with the clusters /št', žd'/, e.g. št'úka, žénšt'ina, dróžd'i.[37] In scattered northern and eastern dialects only the voiced palatal cluster is excluded, as in Gor'kij:[38] šči, plóščat' but vyježd'át', zd'ót (žžet), or is optional.

A number of dialects with cokan'e have the voiceless cluster /sc/ or /sc'/.[39] And at least one dialect (Kazaxstan)[40] has /śś, źź/; in this dialect the new palatals also replace /s', z'/: puśśú, śśeš, śśédrij, źźót, draźźéj; cf. śérca, śv'atój, v gn'iźd'é.

Elimination of geminates, at least optionally, by simplification has been observed in Tula:[41] pušú, pym'ašáit', šólak, dróžy and Murmansk:[42] p'ešóra, plóšat', továryšy, dróžy, vóžy.

4. Affricates

Literary Russian has two affricate phonemes, a mellow (soft) palatal /č́/ and a strident (hard) dental /c/. In some western and eastern dialects the palatal /č́/ is strident. The two affricates are found in most central, western and south-eastern dialects. The dialects differ from the literary system in that they may have:

1. a higher number of dental or palatal affricates (types 2, 3 below)
2. either dental or palatal affricates (types 4, 5, 6 below)
3. only one affricate which is a dental and/or a palatal (type 7).

1. c č́

This is the literary system, found in all areas. In some dialects (chiefly western and eastern) /č́/ is strident, i.e. only phonetically different from mellow (literary) ć, as in Pskov (r. Dno):[1] mólča, n'ičóva, mal'čýška, čýstaja, čolav'ék vs. s'érca, n'émcy, at'éc. Strident /č́/ is found as far north as Kostroma:[2] čovó, kóčka, čolov'ek, čýstoj vs. ot'éc, s'el'co. borótca.

In some dialects [c] is in free variation with palatalized [c']. In many transitional dialects /č́/ is only an optional phoneme, e.g. in Kalinin (r. Rameški), where /c/ also has the variant [c']: s'icás, cáj, nócy, v'écyr and at'éc, kan'cý but also úl'ic'a, c'élyj, ofc'ú and částa, malčú, čúda.

Completely free variation /c - č́/ is found in a few dialects, e.g. in Rjazan' (r. Putjatino): mál'cyk, z d'évackaj, l'íc, as'mnácat', rabóc'im, s'ic'ás, kan'éc' and l'icó, pt'íca, av'éc. This type is transitional to type 6.

Etymological č may be represented by č, č́ or c', and opposed to c, though the latter may be in free variation with č (but not vice versa), as in a Vologda dialect (r. Babaevo), e.g. pál'ec, kol'có, ugurcý; examples of free variation are čás, kl'úč, moločú, pál'eč, čárstvo, p'écka, noć, m'ačik, l'is'íca, ofcá and v'éc'er, poc'omú, znác'it, ofc'á, kúr'ic'a.

2. c č́
   - ǯ́

This type opposes voiced/voiceless strident palatals, e.g. plačú : xaǯú. It is found only in a small area of the far West (for examples see chapter 3). These dialects consistently distinguish etymological č from c.

3. c'/c č
   ǯ - -

The palatalized dental affricates correspond to etymological t', d'; e.g. púc', ʒ'éla. The c and č are the etymological reflexes, č being strident; e.g. atéc, kl'uč. The c', ʒ' phonemes occur in parts of Pskov.

4. c/c'
   - ʒ'

This type distinguishes voiced/voiceless dental affricates. The palatalized c', ʒ' developed from t', d' (cf. Belorussian). In a few dialects c' developed from the t' which replaced original k', e.g. t'íxo, pút', d'élo yield c'íxo, púc', ʒ'élo and láfki, Ván'k'a yield láfc'i, ván'c'a. In this system /c/ : /c'/ are opposed as hard : soft, ʒ' is redundantly soft, and hard t/d have no soft counterparts. On the other hand, the morphophonemic alternations are /t, (k)/ - /c'/ and /d/ - /ʒ'/, e.g. brát - brác'ja, láfka - láfc'e and b'edá - b'eʒ'é.

This system is found in dialects with hard cokan'e in scattered localities east of Moscow (Vladimir, Gor'kij, Čuvaš ASSR, Ul'janovsk), but not in the North, where palatalization in general is weaker.[3]

5. c/c'

Like type 4, this type lacks a palatal affricate, and lacks voiced palatalized ʒ'. Note, however, that the c' corresponds to etymological č. Examples from eastern Karelia (r. Pudož) are: nóc', p'éc', c'órnoj, c'elov'ék, rúc'ka vs. ofcá, kol'có, kon'éc, kúr'ica . In some of these dialects /c'/ may be at least optionally palatal [ć]; the common transcription c'' is ambiguous. Cf. in Kostroma (Meževskij r.) c''ásto, c''údo, pl'ec''ó, n'ic''ovó, r'éc''ka, nóc'' vs. owcá, céloj, koncý, ot'éc .

In other dialects the opposition /c'/ (or /ć/) : /c/ is optional, e.g. in Rjazan' (r. Eraxtur): fćarás', ćjá, ćivó and cýsta, cúda, pl'icó, dócka ; and in Vladimir (r. Gus'-Xrustal'nyj): ćás'ik, dóćka , s'ic'ás, p'éc', rúc'ka and cásta, pcóly, dóc, bócka . In such dialects etymological c is regularly represented by /c/.

This type is uncommon and is found in the scattered areas of the Northwest, North and east-central zone.

6. č ć

This type lacks dental affricates and opposes strident/mellow palatals. The former, [č], is the reflex of etymological c, as in southern Vologda (r. Nikol'sk):[4] čérkva, končý, jajčó vs. ćáj, ćasý, ćitát', pl'ećó, dóćka . This system is extremely rare; it is also attested in Karelia (see chapter 3).

7. c or c' or ć

A single affricate may be /c/, palatalized /c'/ or palatal /č/.[5] Examples of hard cokan'e from Kalinin (r. Ves'egonsk) are cás, córnyj, nóc, p'éc ; cf. in the speech of younger people túča, čáška, čyguný, čixát', jeíčko ; and from Smolensk (r. Prečistoe) naucýl'i, nacynát', cymudán, cáj, r'écka, cýsta, pl'acó but also nóč, xačú, čagó .

Examples of optional [c'] from Arxangel'sk (r. Konoša) are córnyj, n'icevó, cýstyj, cysló and c'ás, nóc', kúr'ic'a, ofc'á ; and from Smolensk polucýl, malcú, cúda, pl'éc and kl'uc'í, p'éd', jac'm'én' as well as xyd'áčyj, čym and čáju .

Soft cokan'e is widespread in the Northeast, and we assume it to be the underlying system of this dialect.[6] Although the presence of /c/ may be due in part to literary influence, its occurrence in the basic vocabulary suggests borrowing from neighboring dialects, as in this case: kúr'ica, jajcó, ofcá, molod'éc, pál'ec, ogur'éc, kol'có, jaíšn'ica . Dialects which distinguish /c/ and /č/ are found in all areas.[7]

Examples of soft cokan'e from Moscow obl. (r. Vinogradovo)[8] are uc'íl, n'ic'avó, kr'ic'ú, c'užýx, dóc', s'ic'ás and at'éc', m'és'ic' ; and in central Vologda;[9] c'ésnoj, fstr'íc'a (vstreča), pc'olá, c'olov'ek and c'êloj, c'ép, ofc'á, pt'íc'a . The palatal affricate in many dialects may be a mellow palatal [ć], but its phonetic quality is difficult to determine from the sources.[10]

Hard cokan'e is chiefly western (Novgorod, Kalinin, Pskov, Smolensk) and east-central (Moscow to Gor'kij). Soft cokan'e is typically northern (western Vologda to the Urals).[11]

External interference has led to the breakdown of cokan'e in many if not a majority of dialects, e.g. in western Vologda (r. Čerepovec): ćórnoj, p'éćka, ćás, ćužój, pt'íća, kúr'ića , p'ec'ál', r'écka, m'ís'ec', s'ér'c'u, ofc'á , čás, nóč,

d'évocka, kon'éc, m'ís'ec and kúr'ica, ofcá, jajcó .

If the single affricate is a palatal it is normally mellow (soft čokan'e). Examples from Kirov are úl'ica, jejcó, céloj, pál'ec, sobrátca and císto, nóc, dócka, polucíl . Such dialects are not numerous; they are found in the Northeast (Arxangel'sk, Vologda, Kirov).

5. Grave Spirants

All Russian dialects admit at least two grave spirants, velar (compact) /x/ and labial (diffuse) /v/ or /w/. In the dialects either of these consonants may have a voiced and a voiceless counterpart (/x : ǧ/ and /v : f/, respectively). In the absence of distinctive voicing only /x/ and /v/ occur. The latter is sometimes a bilabial /w/ which is neutral with respect to voicing. Few dialects have both /ǧ/ and /f/; /ǧ/ occurs predominantly in the South and /f/ in the North, although many southern dialects have introduced /f/ under the influence of the literary language.

The labial spirants also differ from the velar spirants in that the former admit distinctive sharping in all dialects, whereas the velar spirants admit such an opposition only in a few scattered dialects (see 1.11).

5.1. Labial Spirants

Standard Russian and most dialects admit two labial (diffuse) spirants opposed as voiced/voiceless, /v, f/ (as well as their palatalized counterparts, which are not considered here; see the chapter on palatalization), which are not paradigmatically the same as most other consonants. Although /v/ → /f/ before voiceless consonants and finally, /v/ differs from other voiced consonants in that the voiced/voiceless opposition is not neutralized before it, cf. /tvajá, dvá/, i.e., /v/ acts like a sonorant. On the other hand, if /v/ is immediately followed by a voiced consonant (e.g., vdová), voicing will be neutralized in a preceding consonant (in favor of voiced), appearing to operate "across" the /v/, e.g., k vdové is [gvdav'é]; this may also be explained as a morpheme-boundary phenomenon, where /v/ behaves like any other distinctively voiced consonant.

/f/ is restricted to prevocalic and word-final positions (except if it derives from devoicing of /v/). Unlike other voiceless consonants and /v/, it does not assimilate to the voicing of the following consonant, e.g., graf dast is gráf dást.[1]

Dialects admit two diffuse spirants opposed as to voicing, /v/ and /f/, or they lack voiceless /f/ and admit either labiodental /v/ or bilabial sonorant /w/.[2] The lack of /f/[3] gives rise to an increased distribution of the phonemes that replace it, e.g., /x/, /v/[4] in /xvábr'ika, xrónt/ (fábrika, front), or (in the case of /f'/) may leave the way open for the introduction of a new phoneme, /x'/, e.g.,

/x'ódar/ (Fedor). Where /f/ exists it may not occur in all etymologically correct forms: frequently /xv/ or /x/ appear in some words, (e.g., /xvúnt, xrancús/), sometimes even as free variants of /f/; the free variation is in turn extended to words with etymological /x/ or /xv/, e.g., /kúfn'a, fóst, ufat'ít'/.

Although not of phonemic significance, the rules governing positional variants of labial spirants also vary in the dialects. The basic variants occur before vowels; the maximal restrictions are imposed in word-final and preconsonantal positions, where positional variants occur (or phonemic neutralization, in certain dialects).

In many northern and central dialects with two spirants, /v/ is replaced by /f/ before voiceless consonants and in word-final position, and /f/ by /v/ before voiced consonants. In another pattern /v/ is replaced by /f/ before voiceless consonants only in word-initial position, e.g., /fp'isát'/, with /v/ implemented elsewhere as [w], i.e., /v/ : /f/ is maintained before other voiceless consonants and finally: /tráv, trávka : škáf, škáfčik/ (Kostroma, Vologda),[5] phonetically tráw, tráwka as well as práwda. In some dialects /v/ - /x/ before voiceless consonants and word finally, e.g., /dvoróx, d'éxk'i, l'ubóx/ (dvoróv, dévki, ljubóv') (Sverdlovsk).[6] Finally, there exist dialects in which /v/ does not alternate with /f/ or /x/ but exhibits instead a variant [w] before consonants or pause, e.g., práwda, wgóru, tráwka, sapagów, wp'ir'ót (Kostroma, Tula, Russian dialects in the Ukraine and Moldavia);[7] in some of these, /v/ - /u/ in initial position, e.g., /um'és't'i/ (Tula, Moldavia).

The second type of dialect admits a single diffuse spirant, /v/ or /w/; in almost all dialects the bilabial is in free variation or complementary distribution with the labiodental, .i.e., /v/ - /w/ or [v/w].

There are few dialects that admit only the labial spirant /w/, e.g., /w'adró, karówa, jawó, žiwú, šarów, d'éwka, ws'á/ (Rjazan').[8] In such dialects /w/ has no other positional variants, although it may alternate with other phonemes, e.g., /w/ - /x/ in /d'éxki/ (dévki). /v/ and /w/ before vowels are found as free variants in most southern and many western (especially southern Pskov) and northeastern dialects, e.g., /waz'm'ét', žin'ixówi - v'an'c'ú, kvás/ (Tula, Orel, Siberia).[9] Most of these admit /w/

before consonants in initial position (/wr'ém'a, wčará, ws'al'é/), but in some /w/ - /u/ in this position, e.g., /udavá, us'ó, udóm'i/ (vdová, vsë, v dóme).[10]

Dialects with a single labial spirant /v/ admit a voiceless positional variant [f]. If there are no phonemic alternations /v/ - /x/, /v/ - /u/, this [f] occurs before voiceless consonants and finally, i.e., /trávka, vp'isát', tráv/ are phonetically tráfka, fp'isát', tráf (Voronež).[11] In other dialects /v/ - /x/ is optional and restricted to word-final position, e.g., /tráv - tráx/ (Mordva ASSR),[12] or it is obligatory before noninitial voiceless consonants and finally, e.g., /tráxka, dróx : vp'isát'/ (fp'isát') (Vladimir).[13]

Dialects with only /v/ frequently admit the alternation /v/ - /u/, which is restricted to preconsonantal word-initial position, e.g., /ur'ém'a, udavá/. In dialects with this alternation /v/ always has a positional variant [w], restricted to preconsonantal and final positions (e.g., práwda, láwka, žalów), mainly in the Southwest (Smolensk, Orel, Brjansk, Belgorod, Lipeck, Stavropol').[14] or to the position before voiceless consonants and finally (e.g., tráwka, časów, práv da, davnó in Brjansk, Kursk).[15] In one dialect /v/ has two positional variants, [w] before consonants and [f] finally, e.g., dawnó, tráwka : dróf, šisóf (časóv) (Baškir ASSR).[16]

In dialects with /w/ or [w] the bilabial spirant also appears as a positional variant of /l/ or /L/ ("European l"), e.g., vówk, pašów (volk, pošël) preconsonantally and word finally. This is found predominantly in the northern dialects,[17] but also occurs in the western dialects adjacent to Belorussia and the Ukraine (Smolensk, Brjansk, southern Novgorod). In the North this phenomenon is optional, e.g., sobráw - pródaL, wówk'i - wóLk (Vologda, Kostroma).

5.2. Velar Spirants.

The velars vary dialectally in their admission of one or two spirants, All dialects have the voiceless spirant /x/, although it may be lexically or contextually restricted (see above). Otherwise the dialects differ in their implementation of the voiced/voiceless opposition, which may occur in stops, /k : g/, or spirants, /ǩ : x/. The velars also differ dialectally in the existence of palatalized members (some dialects exclude palatalization, others admit it in all velars), which is discussed in the chapter on palatalization.

The frequency of /x/ is greatly increased in some dialects. There is an automatic phonemic alternation /k/ - /x/ before a stop in many northern and southern dialects, e.g., /x tomú, x kóšk'e, x p'átn'ice; xtó, dóxtor/. The absence of /f/ in predominantly southern dialects, as mentioned above, also results in an increase in the function of /x/, cf. /x'ódar, saraxán, xrancúzi/ or /xvartúk, saraxfán, xv'adós'a, xwábr'ika, kan'xfétka, t'imaxv'éj, xv'ódar, graxf'ín'a, cuxv'ílovo, xvúnt/ (Tula, Rjazan', Kursk, Orel, Voronež).[18]

Although many dialects have phonetic [ğ] as a variant of /x/, it is the presence of phonemic /ğ/ (strictly speaking, the absence of /g/) which is usually used as one criterion for defining southern Russian dialects. However, in some otherwise typical southern dialects bordering on Belorussian and Ukrainian the laryngeal spirant /h/ may occur instead of /ğ/.[19] Besides occurring throughout the South, the voiced velar spirant phoneme is found in some northern dialects, where it may be restricted lexically (/blágo, bogát, ğogóčot/, etc.) or (very rarely) morphologically (in the adjectival desinence -ogo). There are some rare northern dialects South of Lake Onega and others in the Northeast in which /ğ/ occurs as a free variant of /g/.[20]

6. Liquid Consonants

All dialects have four liquid consonants r/r' and l/l', with the exception of the dialect of the lower Kolyma basin (eastern Siberia), where the liquids (regularly the /l'/ and least commonly the hard /r/) may be substituted by /j/. Examples of /j/ for l/l' are kjáj, z'jój, s'jáva, oréj (orël), xod'íja, d'éjaja, gojová and jíj (lí). júdno, jubjú, but also volokú, rílo, and note mol'čét', póml'it'. Examples of /j/ for r/r' are d'ófki, jésko, jézat', kjugóm, dójogo, smójt' along with méra, oréj, rámka, rudá. Hardening of /r'/ is also found, especially before etymological e: résko, vréš, robáti, podrát. This phenomenon, known as sladkojazyčie, does not appear to be systematic.[1]

No dialect shows the regular hardening of r' found in Belorussian. (Significantly, most of the Belorussian dialects along the border of the RSFSR have palatalized /r'/.)[2] In a few western Brjansk dialects a tendency has been observed to depalatalize /r'/ under certain specific conditions, particularly before front vowels, e.g. ǧr'ás', car'á, r'úmka, kur'ú, b'ar'óx but b'arí, trí, réč, na dvaré and much more rarely práma, kurú, b'aróm. Occasionally by confusion soft /r'/ appears instead of /r/: r'íba, r'áma, star'ájus'.[3]

All dialects (except that of Kolyma) oppose two laterals, hard, usually velarized /l/ and palatalized /l'/. Variations are found in the treatment of the hard /l/. Two basic types can be distinguished according to the admission of positional variants. The positions which determine the distribution of variants are prevocalic on the one hand and preconsonantal or word-final on the other.

6.1 The Alternation of l with w

Most dialects, like the literary language, have a velarized /l/. The degree of velarization is normally greatest in closed syllables after back vowels: dúl, stól, vólk. Extreme velarization may be accompanied by labialization and eventual loss of tongue contact, resulting in the semivowel [w] (see below), which appears sporadically in many dialects, e.g. in Vologda:[4] máw, b'íw, p'ép'ew, uc'íws'e besides the usual mál, upál, s'ól, k'ís'ol .

The l often appears in two contextual variants, one of which occurs before vowels and the other in other positions. Morphological factors may affect the distribution of the variants, but never as consistently as in Belorussian (where vál (noun) is opposed to dáw (verb)).

In many dialects prevocalic [l] alternates with preconsonantal and word-final [w]. The alternation may be purely phonological, or one variant may be limited to certain classes of morphemes, i.e. a) the past tense (stál, um'él), b) noun stems before a zero desinence (stól, pčól), c) inside nominal stems with a V/# alternation (dólgoj, pálka, póld'en') and d) inside stems lacking the V/# alternation (žóltoj, kolxós, molčát'). [l] is least common in position (d) and most common in position (b), where the analogy of the rest of the paradigm favors it, e.g. stól like stolá, stolú, stolóm but vówk, nowčát'. In verbs the influence of the paradigm is weaker (byl vs. býlo, bylá), while in feminine nouns with -ka prevocalic [l] occurs only in the genitive plural (pálok). Prevocalic [w] is attested only in eastern Siberia: wóška, bywá, kuwák.[5]

Examples of phonemic alternation in a Kostroma dialect[6] are stów, býw, skazáw, vówk, pówno, žáwko, powgóda and m'ešálo, polosá, lopáta, plúk, kladút.

The alternation l/w is found in two areas: the West (Smolensk, western Brjansk) and the Northeast (western Vologda and parts of adjacent oblasts).[7]

6.2. The liquids l, L

A few dialects have a develarized L corresponding to the so-called European l. Examples from a Gor'kij dialect are pr'išLós, vLás't'i, v'és'eLo, nad'éLaL and um'éL, stóL, žurnáL, vóLk, doLgoj, páLka.[8] As in the case of the velar [l], the precise phonetic quality of the mid [L] may vary; in some dialects there is perceptible, if slight velarization.

These dialects are concentrated in two small areas, eastern Novgorod and northern Gor'kij, intermingled with other types,[9] and found in small pockets all over the South.

A number of dialects have develarized [L] only in prevocalic position. Examples from eastern Novgorod are: Lánno, pLúga, p'iLá, zabýLa, b'éLoje but kól, stučál, vólk, pálka.[11] Exceptions habe been noted in all these dialects, e.g. lučína in the present one. They are widely scattered (eastern Novgorod, eastern Kalinin, Kostroma, Gor'kij).

6.3. The alternation of L with w.

This type is analogous to type 1, the only difference being the develarization of [l]. The nature of this alternation is evidence that [L] developed from [l] and not vice versa, as is now generally recognized.[12] Examples from a western Vologda dialect are: gLubokó, boLóto, Lápa, popadáLa and znáw, stów, vówk, dówgo, páwka, mowčít.[13]

The alternation L/w is found in a large compact area comprising most of Vologda and small parts of adjacent oblasts (Arxangel'sk, Kirov, Kostroma), partly surrounded by more conservative dialects with the alternation l/w.

6.4. The spirant β

In a few dialects the new w has become a bilabial fricative [β] or even labiodental [v] (it is almost impossible to distinguish these in the data), e.g. in Vologda[14] póβno, dóβgo, xóβst, toβstój. In some of these dialects f appears before voiceless consonants and finally: poft'ín'n'ik, tofstája, mofčí, upáf, l'ub'íf, pošóf.[15] Sometimes f appears chiefly in the reflexive of verbs: bojáfs'a, umýfs'a. These dialects are widely scattered throughout Vologda.

7. Consonant Clusters

As opposed to Standard Russian, which admits clusters of as many as five consonants, the dialects tend to simplify the polyphonemic clusters and certain bi-consonantal clusters. This tendency is strongest in the northern dialects, which preserve at the same time the maximal distinction of vowels.

The reduction of clusters is most usual in final syllables, where either the final consonant is dropped (e.g. st, zn', vl', yielding s, s', f') or a vowel is inserted between the consonants. Otherwise we find the phenomena of dissimilation of homorganic consonants, and dissimilation or simplification of geminate consonants.

Dissimilation most consistently affects sequences of stop plus stop, in which the first stop becomes a continuant (kt, čn giving xt, šn), while assimilation affects sequences of C' plus j, in which the j is assimilated to the preceding palatalized (or sometimes palatal) consonant, or, conversely labials, are dissimilated. Sequences of voiced stop plus nasal often become geminate nasals (dn to nn), though some dialects show a further tendency to simplify these geminates and to dissimilate sequences of originally geminate nasals (n'n' to l'n', šš to šč).

7.1. Clusters with a Nasal

7.11. Fricative plus Nasal

Initial vn- occurs within a morpheme in the stem vnúk- and across morpheme boundaries. Many dialects, particularly in the North, do not tolerate vn- within a morpheme and substitute mn-. mnúk is found everywhere, although it is uncommon in the South. In a few northern dialects (Vologda, Udmurt ASSR) initial vn- is simplified to n- : núk, nútr'ennoj.[1] On the other hand, initial vn- in place of mn- is attested in Vologda: vnógo.[2] Medially vn occurs everywhere except in a small area of western Kostroma and another in northeastern Gor'kij. Isolated words with mn in place of vn are found in many dialects: damnó, rómno, d'er'émn'a.[3] The most consistent elimination of vn takes place in the Northeast (Perm') and Southwest.

The final cluster (and suffix) -zn' is lacking in some areas; it may be replaced by -st', e.g. ból'est', žíst' or respective nouns with this cluster are shifted to the a-declension, e.g. bol'ezn'a, žízn'a. In some northwestern dialects a zero element is inserted; cf. žíz'en' in Pskov.[4]

The initial clusters zn-, sm- are preserved; only a handful of lexical

examples lack the fricative: nát' for znát' in Moscow, Gor'kij and Kirov, motr'áj in Kirov and motr'í in Perm' for smotrí.

7.12. Stop plus Nasal

Dialectal variation pertains chiefly to the clusters dn and bm which are simplified to geminates . The absence of dn is most common in the North (Kalinin, Jaroslavl', Vologda and Kirov), but is found in many other areas (from Arxangel'sk to Smolensk, Ivanovo, Gor'kij). In prefixes the final stop may be preserved; e.g. podn'át' vs. lánno, onná. Most examples of mm for bm are from the North (Arxangel'sk, Vologda, Jaroslavl', Kirov, Perm'), but the phenomenon is also attested in most central and northwestern areas. In some dialects the geminate mm which replaces bm is simplified to m (Brjansk, Murmansk, Vologda, Kujbyšev).[5] There are a few examples of the loss of b in bn, e.g. xl'anút' (xlebnút') in Pskov,[6] and both nádabna and nádamna in Belgorod;[7] cf. in the same dialect mn for vn in rómnaj, damnó. Examples of mn for bn are also found in the North (Arxangel'sk, Vologda, Kirov). The cluster kn in suknó in Jaroslavl' and Vologda, and zastegn út' is zast'enút' in Leningrad, but these phenomena are not systematic.

It is clear that stops before nasals are most unstable in the North.

The cluster čn which occurs in stems and at morpheme boundaries in nouns and adjectives (with the suffixes -n'ik, -n'ic-, -#n-) is generally replaced by šn in both northern and southern dialects, and examples of čn are due to the influence of either spelling or the literary language. This dissimilation also took place in cokan'e dialects as attested by such forms as molosnój, jaísn'ica.[8] The picture is complicated by the petrification of certain forms with š or s in dialects where čn is now freely permitted (cf. skúšna, naróšna, kan'ešna and the feminine patronymics in -išna in literary Russian), and by interdialectal borrowing.[9] The occurrence of sóčnoj, v'éšnoj and molosnój in a Kirov dialect where šn is the rule is not at all unusual.[10] Some dialects regularly have čn, but šn is often found in words of learned origin, e.g. blaǧapalúšnija, v'ikav'éšnuju in Smolensk.[11] The elimination of čn can be considered a general Russian phenomenon, shared with eastern Belorussian dialects.[12] The investigator of a Pskov dialect in Poland ascribes the appearance of čn to Polish influence.[13]

7.13. Nasal plus Stop

The clusters mp and especially mb are unstable in many dialects. Unlike bm these clusters are dissimilated rather than assimilated, e.g. lánpa, anbár. Both clusters are eliminated in widely scattered dialects (Vologda, Kirov, Gor'kij, Rostov, Kursk, Siberia). In some dialects only one of these clusters is subject to dissimilation: np but mb in parts of Novgorod, Arxangel'sk, Kostroma, and mp but nb in parts of Kostroma, Kirov, Perm', Vladimir. Most published data supply information on only one cluster in each dialect. Most dialects lack at least one, but a few retain mp, mb.[14]

7.14 Nasal plus Nasal

The cluster nn probably exists in all dialects (cf. the name Anna and participles). Note that the functional load of nn is much greater in dialects where it replaces dn.

In the same areas (see 7.12) there is a tendency to eliminate the geminate n'n' in some morphological environments. If the second n' is part of the suffix -n'ik- the first is replaced by l', e.g. sv'aššél'n'ik, vosp'ítal'n'ik. This phenomenon is particularly widespread in Kirov, but is found sporadically in both northern and central dialects, and even a few in the South. Sometimes this l' is extended by analogy to the cluster nn; thus kúxol'noj.

Initial mn- is replaced by vn- in some northeastern dialects (see 7.11.). In a few of these dialects and others in the Northeast (Vologda, Kirov) there is a tendency to eliminate medial mn, e.g. kóvnata. More rarely vn appears at morpheme boundaries: t'óvnoj. A few dialects substitute other clusters for mn, e.g. kómbata, kómlota. Initial mn' is preserved in the pronoun mn'é. Medial mn' is replaced by ml' in some dialects: póml'u, suml'én'jo (somnenie). A few of the dialects northeast of Moscow (Kalinin, Jaroslavl', Ivanovo) have póvn'u. These substitutions are found scattered in various other areas (Vologda, Kirov, Gor'kij, Ul'janovsk) and are attested in the Southwest (three points on the Atlas) and Siberia.[15]

7.15. Nasal plus Liquid

The cluster nr is excluded in most dialects. It is usually replaced by ndr with epenthetic d: ndrávitca. Sporadically it is replaced by mr- (from Karelia to

Gor'kij), or the sequence nar- (narávˈitca) in the South (Kaluga, Belgorod), or it loses the initial n- (rávˈitca) (Arxangel'sk).

7.2. Velar stop plus stop

These clusters occur mostly across word boundaries (e.g. when the preposition is k and in loanwords). In native words the only cluster of velar plus stop is kt (spelled kt or gt). In the older literary norm xt replaced kt in native Russian words, e.g. xtó, but dóktor. Examples of native words are klektát', lókti , nógti, kógti and of foreign words Víktor, diréktor, trákt.

In some dialects kt is common at morpheme boundaries in infinitives of the type pekt'í, žekt'í.

Other velar clusters within morphemes are very rare even in literary Russian (which allows more clusters than the dialects), e.g. kókpit. In the extreme North (Karelia, Arxangel'sk) there is no restriction on k before stops except voicing, but everywhere else k may be replaced by x or ǧ under various phonetic conditions.[16]

The cluster kk is replaced by xk everywhere except in the extreme North (Arxangel'sk, Karelia), e.g. l'óxkaj (southern) vs. l'ókkoj (in Arxangel'sk). The cluster kt may likewise be replaced by xt, though most southwestern, northwestern and northeastern dialects retain k. Many dialects retain kt at morpheme boundaries e.g. dóxtor but k tomú. The pronoun któ appears as xtó everywhere. By far the commonest velar clusters are those with the preposition k. The treatment of these clusters in the dialects may depend on the nature of the second consonant. The following types obtain according to the distribution of x (and its voiced variant ǧ):

(1) x only before k, e.g. x komú but k tomú; g górodu, widespread in g- dialects (i.e. in those with a voiced velar stop g) which include most of the central and northern areas.

(2) x before velar stops, e.g. x komú, ǧ górodu but k tomú, g dómu in central and some northern dialects.

(3) x before voiceless stops, e.g. x tomú, x popú but g górodu. This type is mainly northern and in many of these dialects x appears only before k and t e.g. x komú, x tomú but k popú.

(4) x before voiceless stops and g, e.g. x popú, ǧ górodu but g dómu, chiefly in central dialects.

(5) x before all stops, e.g. ǧ dómu, ǧ báb'e. This type is found all over the South, but also in some central g-dialects. In the South x usually appears before affricates, too: x car'ú, x čáju.

In two small compact areas (eastern Novgorod-northwestern Kalinin and eastern Kostroma) the distribution of x has been further extended. This may include the position before all voiceless consonants (x s'eb'é, x šáxt'e) and v (x vam), before all consonants except voiced stops (x lóšad'i, x mát'er'i, ǧ žen'é) or in all environments (x ob'édu, x jemú).

Another small group of dialects (eastern Novgorod and Leningrad) replaces k with a dental stop before k, e.g. k tomú but t komú. The dental may or may not appear before g, i.e. g górodu or d górodu but only g dómu.

An even rarer phenomenon is the (possibly optional) substitution of v/f for k, found in Vologda and Kostroma: f párn'u, v brátu.[17]

There is no date for the cluster kc, which is rare even in the literary language (akcént, lékcija). Date for the cluster kč is restricted to the words lekče, m'jagče. Scattered dialects throughout the country replace kč with xč in these words. In some areas the affricate loses its occlusion, yielding kš, and in others both elements are replaced by continuants, yielding xš. This phenomenon seems to be connected with the confusion or nondifferentiation of the two dental affricates č and c, since it is found in both North and South (Kirov, Vladimir, Kursk), i.e. in areas which have only one of these affricates or none. On the other hand, dialects in the northern areas may have kč or kc in the infinitive of velar stems: pekčí, žekčí. It appears that the change of k to x antedates the formation of this new infinitive. Only in one village (Kostroma) was there evidence of generalization of xč in infinitives: b'er'exčí, moxčí, žexčí.[18] A similar question involves the infinitive forms pektí, etc. in dialects which regularly have x tomú (Novgorod, Vologda). In the phrase k čemú our meager date indicate that many northern dialects, like the southern, substitute x.

Clusters with a voiced velar within a morpheme, e.g. gdé, kogdá, sogbénnyj, régbi, are much rarer than voiceless clusters. In the dialects they normally occur only in gdé, kogdá, etc. In the South this cluster has the expected ǧ or loses the velar: d'é, kadá. In many northern dialects gd is replaced by ld or vd, although

ǧd is found in g-dialects in a belt from Leningrad to Kirov. All three types can be found in the central dialects.

7.3. Clusters of C' plus j

A number of dialects, like Belorussian and Ukrainian, assimilate j to a preceding single palatalized or palatal consonant, e.g. il'l'á, plát't'a, sv''in'n'á, nóčču, ružžó. Note that the assimilation does not take place after prefixes, hence pad'jóm, s'jés't' as in colloquial standard Russian. The relative frequency of these new geminates differs considerably, though not very significantly between dialects. In order of decreasing frequency they are:

(1) t'/d' (including c'/ʒ', s'/z', n', l', č)

(2) š

and much more rarely

(3) p'/b'

(4) r' [19]

Thus, in Brjansk:[20]

lóšad'd'u, padón'n'a, sabrán'n'a, sól'l'u, stúl'l'a, vugál'l'a, v'as'él'la, b'al'l'ó, il'l'á, sabáčča, bóžžim, ružžó andríb'b'im, zv'ar'r'ó, padvór'r'a but also ščás't'a, b'azúm'ja, p'ér'ja.

Cf. in a Kaluga dialect with hardened labials before j:[21]

plát't'a, brát't'a, p'i t't'ó, l'ís't't'a, sud'd'á, papad'd'á, kar'én'n'a, sv'in'n'á, kríl'l'a, víl'l'u, al'l'éš (l'ěš) nóčču, súčča, av'éčča, valós's'a, kn'iz'z'ó (knjaz'já), mužžá, p'ir'm'ézža, zv'ir'r'ó but víbju, króvju, sinavjó, sv'akróvja and sporadically b'il'jó, druz'já.

Dialects with geminated soft consonants are found in the West in pockets from Pskov to Kursk, including a large part of Smolensk and Brjansk, and in small, scattered localities in Vologda and Kostroma. Lexical items with gemination are found in many other areas west and north of Moscow.[22] Like several other phenomena, this can be considered an areal feature common to the western dialects and the other two East Slavic languages.

A much less common development is the appearance of simple soft consonants, usually the dentals t'/d' and n', in place of the original clusters. Usually

this is a variant of gemination, but it is regular in a few small, widely separated areas of Kalinin, Smolensk, Tula, Kursk and Belgorod, e.g. žit'ó, sud'á, sv'in'ʼa in Kalinin.[23] The unpublished Atlas materials indicate a stronger tendency to lose j before unstressed vowels; thus sud'já, nal'jú and stúl'a, sv'ín'i can be found in the same dialect.

Since both geminate and single consonants are found in the same general areas, it seems probable that the latter resulted from a simplification of the former rather than directly from a weakening and eventual loss of j. This is also suggested by the fact that intervocalic j in verb and adjective endings is well preserved in the West and largely lost in many northern and eastern dialects where gemination is unknown.

7.4. Final Consonant Clusters

-vl', -bl' are found in only a few words: žurávl', Jaroslávl', rubl', korábl'. They are eliminated in most dialects. In the northern and central dialects l' is lost, yielding, with subsequent devoicing, žuráf', koráp'. Dialects which do not admit soft final labials have žuráf, koráp, rúp. In the South a vowel is usually inserted, e.g. žurávʼil' in Kaluga, but the loss of l' is also fairly common here. Dialects retaining -vl' are attested in Rjazan' and Kurgan.[24]

-br/-br' occurs in a few words: dóbr, xrábr, oktjábr'. The data is scanty, but some dialects in Pskov and northeast of Moscow (Vologda, Kirov, Kostroma, Gor'kij) simplify the cluster by losing -r, thus dóp, d'ekáp. A peculiar instance of devoicing is found in Kaluga: d'ikápr.

Two clusters for which there is very little information are -tr and -dr. The former is eliminated in some northern and central dialects (Karelia, Vologda, Kirov, Ul'janovsk, Kujbyšev). A Kujbyšev dialect inserts an epenthetic vowel to avoid this cluster: p'ótar.[25] -ndr (in the name Aleksándr) appears as either -nt or -n in some Vologda dialects.

-st, -s't' are simplified by loss of the dental stop in many dialects, e.g. mos, kos'. Loss of hard -t is widespread in the North (especially the Northeast) and the West, but rare in the South (Kaluga, Volgograd). Loss of soft -t' is found everywhere, but is more typical of the North.[26]

7.5. Simplification of Diphonemic Non-final Clusters

Initial pt- occurs in two roots, pt'ic- and ptax- (cf. literary ptaška). In most southern dialects except for the deep South (Belgorod) p- is lost. In a compact area of western Vologda and Kostroma the cluster is replaced by mt-.

Initial pč- occurs only in the root pčol- . The p- is lost in a few scattered dialects, e.g. colá in Vologda and Rjazan' cokan'e dialects. The cluster is replaced by mč- in the same area where mt- replaces pt-.

Initial čt- in the pronoun čtó is replaced by št- in many dialects throughout the country. However, many dialects have various other forms of this word: ščo in a large part of the North and parts of the South (south of Moscow); čó in the North (from Jaroslavl' to the Urals) and also in Rjazan'; and št'ó in the North and East. Both šč- and št' occur in some dialects of Vologda and Kirov. There is no information on the verbal root čt- (čtu, čtenie). There is little information on medial ct; the commonest words with this cluster are póčta and nečtá. In widely scattered dialects (e.g. Smolensk and Murmansk) the affricate is replaced by š. In some eastern dialects (Tatar ASSR) the two clusters čt/št are in free variation.

bv occurs exclusively at morpheme boundaries, e.g. obvál, obvestí. In much of the North, particularly the Northeast, it is replaced by geminate vv. In a small west-central zone (Kalinin, Pskov) v is lost, e.g. abálka, abar'ú, abál'ivat'.[27]

d'b is restricted to the morpheme boundary of such nouns as svát'ba, sud'bá. This cluster is replaced by r'b in a broad central zone (from Novgorod into Siberia), and by l'b in parts of the North and East (Vologda to Tatar ASSR). Whether this phenomenon is phonetic or limited to some items can not be determined.

Initial cv- occurs only in the root cvet-, and is eliminated in dialects scattered all over European Russia. In the Northeast (Jaroslavl' to Sverdlovsk) and Novgorod it is replaced by sv- and in the west-central zone (Jaroslavl' to Pskov) by tv- . Both sv'ét and tv'ét occur all through the South, sometimes in the same dialect. A few widely scattered dialects have kv'ét, e.g. kv'at'ót in Pskov.[28]

Medial s't' is simplified to s's' in a few Smolensk dialects, e.g. kós's'i, ǧós's'i, s'is's'ór.[29]

The clusters sr, zr are quite common, but avoided in many dialects by the insertion of a dental stop, e.g. strám, zdr'á. This phenomenon is not confined to any area, but is more common in the North than in the South. The data indicate that sr/zr clusters are admissible only at morpheme boundaries in some dialects. For example, a Belgorod dialect has strám, stram'ít', strúp, but srub'ít'[30], and a Kursk dialect[31] has strúp, stražén'ija but sramn'átca In a Siberian dialect the epenthetic T seems to be regular:[32] izdrúk, čer'ezdr'éku, rozdrežát'. In a few words a prothetic vowel appears before initial sr-; istrúp is a frequently quoted lexical example.[33]

xv exists in both the literary language and the dialects. In some northern dialects it is replaced by f (cf. the replacement of f in new words by xv in other dialects). The data are not specific enough to determine the range of this phenomenon.

7.6. Clusters of Three or More Consonants

Most of these clusters (with exceptions such as stráx, Pskóv, vërst) occur only at morpheme boundaries. Few dialect studies deal with them as with biconsonantal clusters.

7.61. Clusters With Initial f/v

These clusters occur initially in words with the prefix v- and elsewhere in nouns and adjectives with the suffixes -stvo, -strie and -skij.

The cluster fsp-, e.g. vspómn'it', is eliminated in scattered northern and southern dialects by dropping the initial f-. Initial fsk- (as in vskrýt') is likewise simplified to sk- in some northern and central dialects. Simplification of medial fsk, as in moskóvskij, is more common, and the latter usually entails the former. An exception is Moscow obl., where moskóskaj and fskrýt' occur. This adjective may be merely an isolated colloquial form. Initial fst-, vzd- are lacking in many dialects in the same areas.

7.62. Clusters With Medial t

stk loses the dental stop in numerous dialects, both northern and southern, e.g. n'ev'éska. The suffix -sty in abstract nouns is often the last group in a four-consonant cluster, e.g. graždánstvo, prav'ít'el'stvo. In the

dialects three-consonant and four-consonant clusters are treated alike. Those dialects which lose the dental have -svo in both múžesvo and l'ekársvo. Loss of t is found everywhere, but is less widespread in the South. Note that some northern dialects have soft s' in this suffix: iskús'vo. A few northern dialects implify tstv to sv, e.g. bogásvo in Vologda[34] and s'irósvo in Kostroma.[35] Presumably this phenomenon is systematic.

7.63. Clusters of Sonorant Plus Stop Plus Sonorant

These clusters lose the stop element in various northwestern and western dialects, particularly in Pskov.

mkn is simplified to mn from Karelia to Pskov, e.g. zamnút', počernút'.[36]

The cluster lkn is eliminated in dialects from Arxangel'sk to Brjansk. The stop may be lost, giving tolnút' (or talnút') or a vowel may be inserted, giving talkanút' (Brjansk) and morgonút' (Arxangel'sk).[37] A solitary example of the corresponding cluster with r in Pskov is inconclusive, but indicates a general tendency in the Northwest: začern'í.[38]

7.64. The Cluster s't'j

This cluster occurs in the high-frequency word krest'jánin and a few plurals such as líst'ja. Many northern and north central dialects lose the stop element (cf. the treatment of final -st in the same dialects). In a few southwestern dialects the t' is assimilated, e.g. kós's'ju.

Footnotes

I, A Survey of the History of Russian Dialectology

[1] M. V. Lomonosov, Materialy k rossijskoj grammatike, Polnoe sobranie sočinenij, 7, 1952.

[2] O narečijax russkogo jazyka, (in the Introduction to his Tolkovji slovar'..... 84pp.).

[3] Ibid., p. 46.

[4] Part II of his Dva issledovanija o zvukax russkogo jazyka, (1866).

[5] His principal work was Zametki o jazyke i narodnoj poèzii in IORJaS 17, 3 (1877), in which he characterized Belorussian as part of the akan'e dialect of South Russia. He also differentiated, specifically, its western portion, in contrast to the "very South Russian dialect" of the East.

[6] Oblastnoj slovar' Kolymskogo ruskogo narecija, SORJaS, 68, (1901), 4.

[7] Govor palex Žizdrinskogo uezda Kalužskoj gub. RFV, 43, (1900), pp. 218-230. Also, Govor stanic byvš. Mozdokskogo polka Terskogo kazač'ego vojska, RFV, 44, (1900), pp. 66-115.

[8] Velikorusskie govory..... SPb, (1913).

[9] V. A. Bogorodickij, Govor derevni Beloj Kazanskoj gub. (1895-1914), RFV and D. V. Bubrix, Foneticeskie osobennosti govora s. Pustošej, IORJaS, (1913).

II, Chapter 1, Stressed Vocalism

[1] The nature of the distinctive features of the vowel phonemes was recently re-examined by S.S. Vysotskij in a comparative study of stressed vowels in northern dialects, Opredelenie sostava glasnyx fonem v svjazi s kačestvom zvukov v severnorusskix govorax in Očerki po fonetike severno-russkix govorov, pp. 5-82. However, we have nct had access to the data from the unpublished volumes of the Atlas which he used, and our phonological description is primarily concerned with the typology of phonemic inventories found in the dialects. Because of this, we shall cite phonetic facts only incidentally.

[2] The term tense here is not to be interpreted in its articulatory-phonetic sense; on the basis of Vysotskij' s experimental findings (cf. fn. 1), the opposition between /ê, ô/ and/é, ó/ in the dialects is high-low rather than tense-lax.

[3] Good phonetic descriptions of these vowels are by S.S. Vysotskij, O govore d. Leka, pp. 10-20; O.G. Gecova, Govor sela Katagošči; O.Brok, Opisanie odnogo govora iz jugozapadnoj časti Totemskogo uezda, esp. pp. 22-51; O.N. Moraxovskaja, Govor d. Uljaxino, pp. 162-8.

[4] In this we are following the notation of Brok, Opisanie.

[5] Another reason for regarding the diphthongs as single phonemes is that the dialects usually avoid vowel sequences altogether within morphemes; cf. such forms as pavúk, karavúl, rádivo, Ilarivón for pauk, etc.

[6] For example, in Leka (Vysotskij's, O govore). For Voronež and Belgorod obl. see K.F. Zaxarova, Arxaičeskie tipy dissimiljativnogo jakan'ja, p. 7, and T.G. Stroganova, Odna iz osobennostej , p. 99. For s. Novosëlki, see O.N. Moraxovskaja, Sootnošenie tipov jakan'ja v govorax rjazanskij mešćery, p. 79. For d. Uljaxino, Vladimir, see Moraxovskaja, Govor, p. 103.

[7] s. Plaxino, Atlas point 564, p. 427. A similarly wide range is indicated by E.V. Sorokina for Novgorod dialects in Sud'ba starogo jat' pod udareniem.

[8] Tixonovo, r. Sudogda. See A.N. Gvozdev, Zametka o govore s. Tixonova, pp. 52-4.

[9] Compare D.V. Bubrix, Foneticeskie osobennosti govora s. Pustošej, with A.S. Bednjakov, O nekotoryx foneticeskix javljenijax v govore s. Pustošej.

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[10] V. I. Trostjanskij, K izučeniju mestnyx govorov v Voronežskoj gubernii, and N.P. Grinkova, Voronežskie dialekty, pp. 209-213.

[11] see Atlas commentaries 16 and 20.

[12] Cf. footnote 3.

[13] Brok, Opisanie, chapters 4 and 13.

[14] Cf. an older reference to tense vowels in an eastern Voronež dialect (Novoxopersk) in Opisanie rukopisej Uč. Arx. Imp. RGO, I, 1914, p. 60-62.

[15] Lipovka, Bazarno-Karabulakskij rajon. See G. Gerovskij, Iz severno-russkoj fonetiki.

[16] d. Šexmino, Atlas point 547, cf. also points 192, 529, 579, 619.

[17] Oskol'skoe, r. Novyj Oskol, point 516. See Zaxarova, Arxaičeskie tipy, passim

[18] Cf. E.S. Klejmenova, Govory južnoj časti Kalužskoj oblasti.

[19] Semenovskoe, cf. R.I. Avanesov, Zametki o govore s. Semenovskogo na r. Vodle.

[20] Atlas point 825, p. 426, 436, 448.

[21] Konstantinovka, r. Šarlyk (also called Smolenka, since the original settlers came from Smolensk). See V.I. Lytkin, Kratkie svedenija o govorax Čkalovskoj oblasti.

[22] O.A. Knjazevskaja, Zamečanija o nekotoryx osobennostjax vocalizma, and E.V. Sorokina, Sud'ba starogo jat'.

[23] Vysotskij, Opredelenie; R.I. Avanesov, V.G. Orlova, eds., Russkaja dialektologija, p. 34.

[24] Atlas point 751, p. 440, 447.

[25] d. Krasavino; see V.I. Čagiševa, Itogi raboty dial. ekspedicij, p. 277-89.

[26] I.P. Glotova, Dialektologičeskie èkspedicii, p. 285.

[27] s. Vasjutino and environs, A.A. Šaxmatov et al., Materialy 2, pp. 119-25.

[28] Cf. Atlas point 229; N.A. Comakion, Istoričeskaja xrestomatija, p. 256.

[29] Atlas point 330, p. 425, 445.

[30] Vysotskij, Opredelenie, pp. 73-80.

[31] A. Ponomarev, Kižskoe narečie, found it to be already breaking down in the late 19th century.

[32] Cf. TMDK 12, pp. 88-91.

[33] Vysotskij, Opredelenie, pp. 73-80.

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[34] Cf. Ponomarëv, Kižskoe narečie; B.P. Ardentov, K izučeniju zaonežskogo dialekta, Šaxmatov et al., Materialy 5, p. 7-9; TMDK 12, 1931, p. 88-91. For a complete bibliography see N.P. Grinkova, K izučeniju oloneckix govorov.

[35] Nižnekolymsk. Cf. V.G. Bogoraz, Oblastnoj slovar' Kolymskogo russkogo narečija. We have followed Bogoraz's transcription closely. It is uncertain if the sequences C'V, C'jV and CjV are in opposition. This phenomenon was documented as early as 1872. Cf. A.N. Sobolevskij, Opyt r. dial., p. 65, and Selišče v, Dial. očerk Sibiri, p. 45-48.

[36] V.I. Čagiševa, K izučeniju kursko-orlovskix govorov.

[37] These are the studies by Avanesov, Brok, Bubrix, Gerovskij, Mansikka, Moraxovskaja, Stroganova, and Vysotskij quoted in this chapter.

[38] V.P. Mansikka, Zametki o govore Nikol'skogo uezda.

[39] see Zaxarova, Arxaičeskie tipy.

[40] Bubrix, Fon. osobennosti.

[41] s. Šunga and environs; cf. N.N. Vinogradov, O narodnom govore Šungenskoj v. Kostromskogo u.

[42] Bereznikovskij s/s. See V.P. Mansikka, Govor Grjazoveckogo u. Vologodskij g.

[43] O.B. Gecova, O proiz. udar. o, p. 107.

[44] Moraxovskaja, Govor.

[45] Demino, Gus'-Xrustal'nyj r. See T.G. Stroganova, K izučeniju govorov meždureč'ja Oki-Kljaz'my.

[46] Cf. Gvozdev, Zametka.

[47] V.A. Magin, Očerk čerkasskogo govora, pp. 80-82.

[48] M.A. Kustarëva, Materialy k izučeniju govorov Smolenščiny, p. 155.

[49] S.I. Dmitriev, Govor d. Novyj Buzec.

[50] For a map based on new research see Avanesov and Orlova, RD, p. 255. References to earlier studies can be found in V.I. Čagiševa, K izuč. kursko-orlovskix govorov, p. 165. For Rostov, see Magin, Očerk; for Krasnodar, cf. V.A. Vodarskij, Osobennosti govorov , p. 18 and M.A. Xarlamov, Nekotorye osobennosti živogo govora goroda Najkopa, p. 87; for a southern dialect in the Ukraine see M.A. Bričyn, Nekotorye osobennosti fon. sistemy russkix govorov na Podol'e, p. 136; for Tomsk, K.M. Braslavec, Ketskij govor.

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[51] Brok, Opisanie, p. 76.

[52] Examples from widely separated areas are cited in N.Černyšev, Govor d. Kalužkina, p. 153 (Kaluga); Šaxmatov et al., Materialy 8, p. 70 (Arxangel'sk), Materialy 9, p. 78 (Vologda), Materialy 5, p. 117 (Kursk).

[53] s. Permas. See V.G. Orlova, O govore sela Permas.

[54] Brok, Opisanie. cf. also Gorškova, Razvitie vokalizma.

[55] R.I. Avanesov and V.N. Sidorov, Govory verxnego Povetlužja.

[56] For details, see Sorokina, Sud'ba starogo jat'. For a historical survey see V.V. Vinogradov, Očerki iz istorii zvuka ě. cf. also the Atlas, map and commentary 17.

[57] P.S. Kuznecov, Russkaja dialektologija, 3rd ed., p. 49; Avanesov and Orlova, RD, p. 35, and the introduction to the Atlas, p. 76.

[58] The only specialized study of this question was unavailable to us: D.I. Alekseev, Ob odnoj fonet. osobennosti vladimirsko-povolžskix govorov.

[59] d. Petrušin, Atlas point 813. For examples of both /i/ and /e/, cf. d. Golicyno, point 846.

[60] L.N. Bulatova, Ob okaj ščix govorax, p. 70.

[61] See Z.M. Al'muxamedova, Fonetičeskie osobennosti govora s. Vysokaja Gora, p. 161 for good examples in a Kazan dialect.

[62] See Atlas commentary 17.

[63] Cf. Atlas, map and commentary 17; Obrazovanie severnorusskogo narečija (hereafter OSN), map 48, p. 162, and map 94, p. 347 (Vladimir); A.S. Maduev, Otčet, p. 46ff.; S.A. Koporskij, Arxaičeskie govory, p. 13; L.I. Vinogradova, Govory Kimrskogo r. (Kalinin); G.F. Nefedov, Dialektologičeskaja èkspedicija, p. 71 (Moscow); V.I. Černyšev, Svedenija o nekotoryx govorax, p. 24 (Moscow); V.A. Bogorodickij, Govor d. Beloj (Tatar ASSR); D.I. Alekseev, Govor s. Arxangel'skogo (Ul'janovsk); M.K. Gerasimov, Slovar', p. 4 (Vologda); S.A. Eremin, Xarakteristika narodnyx govorov (Kostroma); Šaxmatov et al., Materialy 8, pp. 182ff., Materialy 9, pp. 131 (Kostroma), 234 (Perm'), Materialy 2, p. 557 (Tjumen').

[64] See Atlas maps and commentaries 22 and 23.

[65] For example, A.N. Sobolevskij, Opyt russkoj dialektologii, p. 43, and N. N. Durnovo et al., Opyt dialektologičeskoj karty russkogo jazyka, pp. 19, 23, as well as Avanesov and Orlova, RD, p. 35.

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[66] Brok. Opisanie.

[67] Mansikka, Zametki, p. 149.

[68] V.P. Mansikka, O govore Šenkurskogo u., p. 95.

[69] Atlas point 586, p. 583; For more details see Stroganova, Odna iz osobennostej, p. 10.

[70] Atlas point 583.

[71] S. Ju. Adlivankin, Vokalizm gruppy južnorusskix govorov, p. 205-6, and Otčet o dial. ekspedicii, p. 156.

[72] G.A. Turbin, Govor tambovskix pereselencev, p. 162.

[73] A survey of northern dialects can be found in M.N. Preobraženskaja, Čeredovanie a/e pp. 321-28. Cf. also fn. 64 and OSN, pp. 17-22.

[74] Cf. A.A. Šaxmatov, Zvukovyje osobennosti (RFV 38, 1897, p. 190) (Kaluga), P. Ja Černyx, K fonetike južnorusskix govorov, p. 253 (Or'ël), V.I. Sobinnikova, Ob umerennom jakanie na severovelikorusskoj osnove, p. 90, (Voronež), and I.S. Merkur'ev, Murmanskij govor, Fonetika, p. 6, and as a facultative variant, G.A. Turbin, Dial. èkspedicija, p. 38 (Čeljabinsk).

[75] Cf. M.V. Panov, Fonetika sov. rus. lit. jazyka, 1968, chapter 4.

[76] See, for example, Atlas points 214, 427, and 692.

[77] Bubrix, Fon. osobennosti.

[78] Cf. Gerovskij, Iz severno-russkoj fonetiki.

[79] Cf. fn. 15.

[80] For the adjective see Avanesov and Orlova, RD, map 8, p. 255; for verb stems, see the corresponding chapter of the present volume.

[81] Atlas point 824, p. 435. Cf. also points 584, 597, 624, and Seliščev, Dial. očerk Sibiri, p. 45-48.

[82] Gorščova, Razvitie vokalizma, p. 77.

[83] R.I. Avanesov, Očerk dialektologii rjazanskoj meščery, pp. 144-5, 231-3; cf. also Stroganova, K izučeniju.

[84] Brok, Opisanie.

[85] Mansikka, O govore, p. 95.

[86] Cf. Mansikka, Zametki.

[87] This qualification is also made by Kuznecov, Russkaja dialektologija, p. 51.

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[88] See S.S. Vysotskij, Raboty E.F. Budde o rjazanskix govorax, p. 69. Scattered references to C'éC appear in the TMDK (for a list of such, see S.P. Obnorskij, Perexod e v o v sovremennom russkom jazyke, in A.A. Šaxmatov, Sbornik statej i materialov, AN SSSR, 1947, p. 302-3), cf. also the Atlas, Map 15 and Commentary, p. 417-21, and N.S. Bušina, Fonet. osobennosti, p. 35.

[89] Avanesov, Očerk dial. rjazanskoj meščery.

[90] L.I. Barannikova, Otčet o dial. ekspedicii, p. 142.

[91] Atlas point 561, p. 419.

[92] Atlas point 335, s. Busaevo; also see Stroganova, K izučeniju, p. 109.

II, Chapter 2.1, Vowel Inventories

[1] TMDK 11, pp. 51-52 (Vladimir); TMDK 12, pp. 100-101 (Penza).

[2] A.A. Šaxmatov et al., Materialy 9, pp. 2-3 (g. Onega, Arxangel'sk); see also Materialy 5, pp. 49-59 (g. Onega, Arxangel'sk); Materialy 8, pp. 111-37 (g. Makar'jev, Vologda); Z.O. Zdobnova, Sistema bezudarnogo vokalizma (Udmurt ASSR).

[3] Šaxmatov et al., Materialy 8, pp. 90-105, 158-69 (Kirov); L.I. Goreva, Govory Vožgal'skogo g. (Kirov); TMDK 11, pp. 23-7 (Arxangel'sk), TMDK 12, pp. 24-(Mari ASSR), 59-61 (Vologda); M.K. Gerasimov, Slovar' uezdnogo čerepoveckogo govora (Vologda); P.S. Kuznecov, O govorax Verxnej Pinegi (Arxangel'sk).

[4] TMDK 11, pp. 4-17 (g. Pinega, Arxangel'sk).

[5] See E.A. Komšilova, K izučeniju govorov Srednego Urala (Sverdlovsk).

[6] Cf. similarly an Udmurt dialect described in TMDK 11, pp. 119-20.

[7] TMDK 11, pp. 103-4 (Arxangel'sk); cf. V.I. Troickij, Russkie govory (Kirov); TMDK 11, pp. 20-22, 22-23 (Arxangel'sk), 121-2 (Udmurt), 146-7 (Mari), 175-6 (Gor'kij); TMDK 12, pp. 131-2 (Kurgan); Šaxmatov et al., Materialy 3, pp. 973-7 (Tjumen').

[8] Z.P. Zdobnova, Sistema bezudarnogo vokalizma (Udmurt ASSR).

[9] TMDK 12, pp. 112-16 (Sverdlovsk).

[10] TMDK 12, pp. 119-21 (Kurgan).

[11] V. Mansikka, Zametiki o govore Nikol'skogo u.; cf. Šaxmatov et al., Materialy 3, pp. 962-73, 977-1004 (Vologda), Materialy 4, pp. 265-8 (Vologda), Materialy 9, pp. 48-55 (Vologda); R.I. Avanesov and V.N. Sidorov, Govory Verxnego Povetluž'ja (Kostroma); S.A. Eremin, Opisanie Ulomskogo i Vaučkogo govorov (Vologda); L.I. Pirogova, Opisanie šesti punktov (Bol'šaja Tovra, Arxangel'sk); T.S. Kislicyna, Opisanie govora d. Vystavki Kotlas (Arxangel'sk).

[12] Cf. fn. 10 and 11; V. Mansikka, O govore Šenkurskogo u. (Arxangel'sk); V.N. Svetlova, Foneticeskie processy, and her Foneticeskie osobennosti (Sverdlovsk); TMDK 11, pp. 124-5 (g. Jur'ja, Kirov); Šaxmatov et al., Materialy 9, pp. 226-30 (Perm'); M. D. Golubyx, Govory Belojarskogo r. (Sverdlovsk).

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[13]Šaxmatov et al., Materialy 8, pp. 158-69.

[14]Cf. fn. 3 and TMDK 11, pp. 151-2 (Mari), 156-8 (r. Meževskij, Kostroma); TMDK 12, pp. 123-4 (Perm'), 133 (Šadrinsk, Kurgan); Šaxmatov et al., Materialy 5, pp. 38-42 (Kirov), Materialy 8, pp. 184-91 (Xalbuž, Kostroma); K.M. Braslavec, Fonetika starožil'českix russkix govorov (Krasnojarskij kraj); E.P. Gruševskaja, Foneticeskie osobennosti (Sverdlovsk). A similar type is the dialect spoken in Arxangel'sk city as described in TMDK 11, pp. 2-4.

[15]V. Mansikka, O govore severo-vostočnoj časti. This is one of the finest studies ever written.

[16]Šaxmatov et al., Materialy 2, pp. 551-6.

[17]Zdobnova, Sistema bezudarnogo vokalizma.

[18]R.I. Avanesov and V.G.Orlova, eds., Russkaja dialektologija, p. 43, and Atlas, map 4.

[19]Avanesov and Orlova, p. 42.

[20]V.A. Malaxovskij, Govory Novobujanskogo (Kujbyšev), p. 83, presents a list of common words with /o/ from etymological *ĕ.

[21]T.F. Murnikova, Opisanie russkogo govora ostrova Pijrisaara, p. 350.

[22]Cf. Atlas point 938 (r. Kuzovatovo, Uljanovsk).

[23]Cf. M.N. Krivova, O tipax jakan'ja v srednerusskix govorax, pp. 305 ff. (Kujbyšev); L.È. Kalnyn', K istorii kolomenskix govorov, p. 75 (Moskva); Atlas point 723 (Mordva ASSR); L.I. Barannikova, Glasnye fonemy neudarjaemyx slogov (eastern Saratov); B.V. Popov, Tul'skij govor na territorii Kirovskoj obl., pp. 352-7 (r. Omutninsk). In the archaic layer of this dialect there is only /a/ in C'_C (n'asú, b'adá, tr'asú).

[24]TMDK 10, p. 14. Older reports from the South occasionally note a similar pattern. Cf. also Atlas point 726 (Mordva ASSR), and V. Černyšev, Svedenija o nekotoryx govorax, p. 22 (Moscow).

[25]S.A. Olenina, Govor s. Mariinskogo (Xabarovsk).

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[26]T.G. Stroganova, Odna iz osobennostej južnorusskogo vokalizma, p. 100. There are no data for the environments C'_C, C'_C', but we know from other sources that the maximal system in these environments includes three vowels (/i/, /a/, /u/).

[27]T.G. Stroganova, K izučeniju govorov mezdureč'ja Oki-Kljaz'my, p. 98 (d. Lenki).

[28]TMDK 12, p. 171; the data is contradictory. For ekanie as a transitional stage in the neutralization of /a/ and /i/ see S.A. Koporskij, Arxaičeskie govory, p. 8. Cf. Atlas, map 8, for the east-central zone.

[29]See S.S. Vysockij, O govore d. Leka, esp. pp. 34-6. For a similar dialect in r. Luxovicy see Ju.V. Petrovskaja, K dialectologii rjazanskix govorov, pp. 6-7. For the whole area see Stroganova, K izučeniju govorov mežduréč'ja Oki-Kljaz'my.

[30]Koporskij, Arxaičeskie govory.

[31]V.V. Alexina, Govor severo-vostočnoj časti Emel'janskogo r. Krasnojarskogo Kraja, pp. 29-39.

[32]Atlas, p. 69.

[33]For examples of [ʉ] see Atlas, Commentary 8, points 293, 325, 567, 767. For both [e] and [a] see points 292, 293, 296. These dialects are also discussed in detail by Kalnyn', K istorii kolemenskix govorov. For a similar neighboring dialect see S.S. Vysotskij, Govory vostočnoj okrainy Moskovskoj obl.

[34]M. Karaulov, Govor stanic byvšego Mozdokskogo polka; Šaxmatov et al., Materialy 6, pp. 8-9; see also Koporskij, Arxaičeskie govory, p. 8.

[35]Cf. the Atlas.

[36]See N.P. Grinkova, Govor Buxtarminskie staroobrjadcev.

[37]See V.I. Čagiševa, O brjanskix govorax, pp. 188-9.

[38]See map in V.G. Orlova, Klassifikacija južnovelikorusskix govorov, p. 9; and also M.V. Ušakov, Zametki o govorax, p. 138 (Moskva); V.I. Popov, Zamečanija, pp. 229-50 (Smolensk).

The automatic raising of [a] after hard consonants to a central mid vowel [ɑ] before stressed /á/, known as the Žizdra type of dissimilative akanie, is characteristic of many a-dialects (see the section on three-vowel systems), but is also

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found in at least one Pskov o-dialect, e.g., [xaď'íl, starúxa, nam'ér'in, davnó] but [kak rás, nagráda, skazál]; cf. mojá, rovnó, zgor'él. See T.G. Stroganova, O predudarnom vokalizma govorov severo-zapada Pskovskoj oblasti, p. 108.

[39]Čagiševa, O brjanskix govorax.

[40]Popov, Zamečanija, p. 232. This is adjacent to present-day Kalinin obl.

[41]TMDK 10, p. 32 (r. Dmitriev); M. Xalanskij, Čerty narodnogo govora, pp. 191-7 (r. Ščigry).

[42]For this development in Tambov see M.N. Buval'ceva, O putjax razrušenija sil'nogo jakan'ja. Documentation for the original system in Tula can be found in various reports in TMDK.

[43]Čagiševa, O brjanskix govorax; Popov, Zamečanija.

[44]See Dialektalahičny atlas belaruskaj movy, Map 4. The Pskov-Smolensk linguistic border was roughly charted by I.O. Kuz'min, Otčet o poezdke v Velikoluckij okrug.

II, Chapter 2.12, Distribution of Vowels in o-Dialects

[1]N.P. Grinkova and V.I. Čagiševa, Praktičeskie zanjatija, p. 66.

[2]P. G. Sokolov, Otčet o dialektologičeskoj èkspedicii (Irkutsk). Cf. Z.V. Zukovskaja, O govorov k jugu ot Gdova (Pskov) and R.T. Grib, Nekotorye svedenija, p. 114, (who also quotes Comakion, K voprosu (not available to us)) and his Govor selenij po Moskovskomu traktu.

[3]A.A. Šaxmatov et al., Materialy (hereafter MIVG) 9, pp. 2-3.

[4]TMDK 11, p. 4ff.

[5]For example, TMDK 11, p. 119 (Udmurt ASSR); E.A. Komšilova, K izučeniju (Sverdlovsk); A.N. Sokolova, Fonetičeskaja sistema (g. Šadrinsk, Kurgan).

[6]TMDK 11, pp. 27-8 (Šenkursk, Arxangel'sk). Cf. TMDK 11, pp. 105-6 (Arxangel'sk), 135-6 (Tatar ASSR), 160-1 (Kostroma); Z.P. Zdobnova, Sistema bezudarnogo vokalizma (Udmurt ASSR); R.I. Avanesov, V.N. Sidorov, Govory Verxnego Povetluž'ja (Kostroma); TMDK 12, pp. 85-7 (Vologda); D.K. Zelenin, O govore orenburgskix kazakov; Šaxmatov et al., Materialy 9, pp. 77-80 (Vologda), Materialy 11, pp. 70-5 (Gor'kij).

[7]TMDK 12, pp. 195-6 (Kalinin)

[8]Šaxmatov et al., Materialy 9, pp. 121-4 (g. Galič, Kostroma), 104-7 (g. Nagorskoe, Kirov) Cf. the descriptions of analogous dialects of the same region in Materialy 9, pp. 110-11, 111-113, and 117-19. Cf. also fn. 12, sec. I.

[9]TMDK 12, p. 188 ("Ort'omuxa", apparently identical with Artem'evo, g. Tutaev, Jaroslavl').

[10]L.I. Goreva, Govory Vožgal'skogo g.

[11]TMDK 12, p. 133, Šadrinsk (Kurgan); TMDK 11, pp. 156-8 (r. Meževskij, Kostroma); Šaxmatov et al., Materialy 5, pp. 38-42 (g. Malmyž, Kirov), Materialy 8, pp. 184-91 (Xalbuž, Kostroma); TMDK 12, pp. 123-4 (g. Oxansk, Perm'); TMDK 11, pp. 151-2 (Mari ASSR), K.M. Braslavec, Fonetika starožil'českix russkix govorov (g. Enisejsk, Krasnojarskij kraj).

[12]V.I. Čagiševa, Govory vostočnogo poberežja ozera Il'men'.

[13]N.A. Comakion, Predudarnyj vokalizm sibirskix govorov (g. Enisejsk, Krasnojarskij kraj).

[14]Šaxmatov et al., Materialy 2, pp. 551-6.

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[15]Z.P. Zdobnova, Sistema bezudarnogo vokalizma, p. 318,

[16]See texts from Krylovo (g. Osa, Perm') in L.P. Smoljakova, Iz materialov.

[17]TMDK 11, p. 5

[18]Šaxmatov et al., Materialy 8, pp. 158ff.

[19]TMDK 11, pp. 153-5 (Mari ASSR).

[20]Cf. fn. 7,8,38 sec. II, 2.11 and fn. 6,7 above, and P. Ja. Černyx, Nižnenejskij govor (g. Makar'ev, Kostroma); B. Sokolov, Ju. Sokolov, Otčet o poezdke v Kirillovskij u. (Vologda); texts in Grinkova and Čagiševa, Praktičeskie zanjatija, pp. 41-3 (g. Velikij Ustjug, Vologda).

[21]TMDK 12, pp. 147-8 (Saratov). Cf. TMDK 11, pp. 73-5 (Vologda and environs).

[22]See TMDK 12, pp. 64-7 (g. Kirillov, Vologda).

[23]V.A. Malaxovskij, Govory Novobijanskogo g.

[24][deleted fn.]

[25]TMDK 12, p. 133.

[26]TMDK 11, p. 156.

[27]TMDK 12, p. 188.

[28]TMDK 12, p. 2.

[29]Šaxmatov et al., Materialy 11, p. 15.

[30][deleted fn.]

[31]Šaxmatov et al., Materialy 11, pp. 119-125.

[32]A.N. Sokolova, Fonetičeskaja sistema govora Ščadrinskogo g.

[33]TMDK 12, p. 61.

[34]V.P. Mansikka, Govor Grjazoveckogo u.

[35]Šaxmatov et al., Materialy 9, p. 121.

[36]Mansikka, O govore Šenkurskogo u.

[37][deleted fn.]

[38]TMDK 11, pp. 41-2 (Vladimir).

[39]V.N. Svetlova, Fonetičeskie osobennosti.

[40]Malaxovskij, Govor Novobijanskogo g.

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[41]There are several examples in TMDK 11 and 12.

[42]See I.S. Deljusina, Fonetika glasnyx (Ivanovo). This type is well attested in many other descriptions; cf. L.N. Bulatova, Ob okajuščix govorax (Vladimir); TMDK 11, pp. 163-7 (g. Nerexta, Kostroma); TMDK 12, pp. 29-31 (Gor'kij), 55-7 (Novgorod); Z.M. Al'muxamedova, Vokalizm russkix govorov; S.A. Mart'janova, Iz nabljudenij (Tatar ASSR); I.A. Kašin, Usen'-Ivanovskij Govor (Baškir ASSR); Šaxmatov et al., Materialy 5, pp. 46-8 (Kujbyšev), Materialy 11, pp. 20-30 (Čuvaš ASSR), 92-100 (Penza).

[43]Cf. preceding fn. and also TMDK 11, pp. 33,43 (Vladimir), 59-61 (Ivanovo); TMDK 12, pp. 13ĭ4 (Gor'kij); N.D. Rusinov, Dialektizmy (Jaroslavl'); N.I. Zorin, Govory Čkalovskoj obl. (Orenburg); B.I. Borkovskij, Iz nabljudenij (Novgord); Atlas, map 4.

[44]TMDK 12, p. 65.

[44a]O. Brok, Opisanie odnogo govora.

[45]R.I. Avanesov and V.G. Orlova, eds., Russkaja dialektologija, p. 43; TMDK 12, p. 1 (Gor'kij); Atlas pts. 24, 88, 92, 112, 341, 342, 346, 360, 404, 748, 807.

[46]A.M. Paškovskij, O govore s. Lermontovo.

[47]TMDK 11, pp. 456 (Vladimir). Analogous patterns are described in JA.M. Paškovskij, Govory s. Poima (Penza) and TMDK 12, pp. 196-8 (Gor'kij).

[48]Cf. fn. 15, sec. II, 2.11; Šaxmatov et al., Materialy 9, p. 121 (g. Galič, Kostroma); Mansikka, O govore severo-vostočnoj časti (Karelia).

II, Chapter 2.13, Distribution of Vowels in a-Dialects

[1]A.S. Bednjakov, Govor šuvalikov, p. 314.

[2]G.S. Oksman, Proiznošenie glasnyx neverxnego pod"ema. R.I. Avanesov and V.G. Orlova, eds., Russkaja dialektologija, p. 65.

[3]For examples see S.A. Koporskij, Arxaičeskie govory, pp. 11-12 (Kalinin); P.A. Rastorguev, Govory na territorii Smolenščiny, pp. 52-3;and A.A.Šaxmatov, Zvukovye osobennosti (RFV 36, p. 66, RFV 38, p. 174).

[4]Atlas, commentary 1.

[5]M.V. Panov, Fonetika sovremennogo russkogo literaturnogo jazyka, M., 1968, pp. 22-30.

[6]M.A. Kustarëva, Materialy k izučeniju govorov Smolenščiny, pp. 154-5. See also Atlas, Map 8, for "elements of ikanie" in dialects with moderate jakanie near Moscow, and P.A. Rastorguev, Severskо-belorusskij govor, p. 24, for ikanie in an area of predominant complete jakanie.

[7]V.A. Magin, Očerk čerkasskogo govora, pp. 48-49.

[8]Z.I. Nosova, Glagol'nye formy.

[9]The documentation is good. For Kaluga see esp. TMDK 10, pp. 37-40, 82-88 (various dialects); V.I. Černyšev, Dopolnenija k svedenijam o govore s. Meščovska; A.A. Šaxmatov et al., Materialy 11, pp. 36-52 (various dialects); V. Ignatova, Kratkaja xarakteristika. For Moscow obl. see Černyšev, Svedenija o narodnyx govorax nekotoryx selenij, pp. 6-32, and his Svedenija o nekotoryx govorax, pp. 31-46; L.È. Kalnyn', K istorii kolomenskix govorov, pp. 69-81; N.M. Karinskij, Očerki jazyka russkix krest'jan, p. 43. As a newer variant in the same area it was noted by N.N. Durnovo, in Opisanie govora d. Parfenok (RFV 44, pp. 176-7). For the area east of Moscow see T.G. Stroganova, K izučeniju govorov meždureč'ja Oki-Kljazmy, p. 97. A historical discussion can be found in V.N. Sidorov, Ob odnoj raznovidnosti umerennogo jakan'ja, p. 66.

[10]See Atlas, map 3.

[11]Magin, Očerk čerkasskogo govora (Rostov); F.P. Sergeev, Južnorusskij govor (Volgograd); I.I. Solosin, Kratkie svedenija (Volgograd); see E.Ja. Benskaja, Govor stanicy Staryj Ščedrin (Stavropol'); G.P. Bondarenko, O govorax Stavropol'ja; N.S. Bušina, K izučeniju Stavropol'skix govorov; TMDK 10, p. 21 (Krasnodar).

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[12]A.M. Selišščev, Dialektologičeskij očerk Sibiri, p. 12; cf. also A.P. Georgievskij, Russkie na Dal'nem Vostoke (Amur); Selišščev, Zabajkal'skie staroobrjadcy, pp. 40-50 (Čita); V.B. Duxanina, Nekotorye osobennosti govora trax sel; Z.I. Nosova, Glagol'nye formy; G.S. Vinogradov and P.Ja. Černyx, Russkie govory (Irkutsk); R.T. Grib, Govor selenij po moskovskomu traktu; N.I. Ageeva, K istorii osnovanija russkix poselenij; K.M. Braslavec, Osobennosti vokalizma govora d. Ust'-Rečki; E.P. Molčanova, Foneticeskaja sistema starožil'českogo govora.

[13]T.G. Stroganova, K izučeniju govorov, p. 98 (d. Lenki).

[14]A similar system in the a-dialects of Kostroma is described in G.V. Šajtanova, Rassširenie territorii akajuščix govorov, pp. 136-9, and (without examples) in O.G. Gecova, Govor s. Katagošči (Rjazan').

[15]A.I. Čižik-Polejko, Materialy soveščanija po izučeniju južnorusskix govorov govorov i pamjatniki pis'mennosti, pp. 13-14.

[16]A. Maduev, K dialektologii Saratovskoj gub., pp. 347 ff. A.N. Gvozdev, Tipy velikorusskix govorov, lists moderate ekan'e (without examples) as characteristic of 7 villages in Penza among 144 with moderate jakan'e.

[17]Stroganova, K izučeniju govorov, pp. 97-102.

[18]M.V. Krivova, O tipax jakan'ja, pp. 300-1.

[19]V.N. Sidorov, O proisxoždenii umerennogo jakan'ja.

[20]N.B. Parikova, O nekotoryx osobennostjax, p. 456.

[21]A.S. Bednjakov, Govor šuvalikov, pp. 312-15.

[22]K.F. Zaxarova, Nekotorye slučai utraty arxaičeskogo tipa jakan'ja.

[23]Dialektologičeskie razyskanija.

[24]One example is the Mosal'sk type of dissimilative jakan'e ; see V.D. Bondaletov, Dopolnitel'nye svedenija, pp. 251 ff.; another is the new type of modified jakan'e described by Krivova in O tipax jakan'ja; cf. also the Orexovka type of assimilative-dissimilative jakan'e identified by Bondalatov, Ob odnom variante.

[25]Cf. Atlas point 358 (Vladimir). There are isolated traces of an archaic 5-vowel system (v'osnú) in the dialect; we lack data regarding C'_C'. This is the so-called assimilative akan'e.

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[26]Stroganova, Predudarnyj vokalizm, p. 111. The example l'onók quoted by the author seems to be unique and contradicts the generally unambiguous characterization given in the introductory paragraphs. This is one subtype of the so-called Gdov akan'e.

[27]T.V. Kirillova, Narodnye govory Kalininskogo r.

[28]A.S. Maduev, Otčet o dialektologičeskoj poezdke, p. 48 (d. Borminskaja, s. Staraja Konstantinovka, Kalinin); unfortunately, the author does not give good examples. This pattern is usually called "assimilative okan'e", e.g., by R.I. Avanesov, Očerki russkoj dialektologii, p. 65.

[29]R. T. Grib, Nekotorye svedenija, p. 115; cf. N. A. Comakion, Predudavnyj vokaliz m, p. 254.

[30]Avanesov and Orlova, Russkaja dialektologija, p. 41.

[31]L. I. Barannikova, Glasnye fonemy, p. 251.

[32]TMDK 11, p. 36. An analogous s ystem is described in TMDK 11, pp. 77-9 (Vologda).

[33]Stroganova, Predudarnyj vokalizm, p. 106 (Čudskie Zaxody, r. Pskov).

Other places quoted in this study differ mainly as to the degree of consistency: spreading jakan'e is attested by variants like m'atlój/pat'oklό in the env ironment C'_C, while the distinction of four vowels is maintained in the environments C_C and C'_C', i.e., these are relatively more stable (Čudskaja Rudnica, r. Pskov). In some instances the influence of the following stressed /á/ is apparent (e.g., v'azlá/ pav'ezlá in Aksent'evo, r. Gdov).

[34]The northwestern border area shows greater diversity in t he vocalism than any other Russian-speaking area. Although none of the vowel patterns documented is completely consistent (cf. the most recent sur vey in Obrazovanie severnorusskogo narečija (hereafter OSN), pp. 416ff.), th e underlying tendencies are clearly identifiable.

[35]N. N. Durnovo, Dialektologičescie razyskanija, p. 68. Stroganova, K izučeniju govorov, p. 11; cf. V. G. Orlova, Govory severno-vostočnoj časti rjazanskij obl., p. 48; and Atlas point 584, map 8.

[36]See T. V. Kirillova, Narodnye govory Kalininskogo r.

[37]Brok, Govory k zapadu ot Mosal'ska, pp. 44ff.

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[38] V. I. Čagiševa, O brjanskix govorax, p. 190.

[39] N. S. Bušina, K izučeniju stavropol'skix govorov, p. 14.

[40] Dialektalahičny atlas belaruskaj movy, map 4.

[41] The documentation is too extensive to give in full. Some of the reports are: Čagiševa, O brjanskix govorax; A. V. Korol'kova, Fonetiko-morfologičeskie osobennosti (Brjansk); M. V. Ušakov, Opisanie govora (Brjansk); N. P. Grinkova, Očerki po russkoj dialektologii, 4, Govor tudovljan (Kalinin); A. A. Šaxmatov, Zvukovye osobennosti (RFV 36, pp. 60-99) (Smolensk); M. A. Kustareva, Materialy (Smolensk); TMDK 8, pp. 7-12, 31-3 (Kaluga); A. I. Efremov, Materialy po dialektologii (Kaluga); A. Nikol'skij, Govory Kalužskoj obl.

[42] A. N. Gvozdev, Tablica tipov jakan'a.

[43] V. D. Bondaletov, Dopolnitel'nye svedenija.

[44] L. L. Vasil'ev, Glasnye v sloge pod udareniem. The exact location is not specified.

[45] K. F. Zaxarova, Arxaičeskie tipy dissimiljativnogo jakan'ja.

[46] Zaxarova, Arxaičeskie tipy, p. 22.

[47] L. Ja. Usačeva, K istorii kurskogo govora.

[48] Zaxarova, Nekotorye slučai utraty.

[49] Durnovo, Dialektologičeskie razyskanija, with references to older material from these dialects. N. P. Grinkova, Voronežskie Dialekty, pp. 41-136, reprints a great deal of this and some new material, but makes no attempt to classify these dialects by type.

[50] TMDK 8, pp. 18-19.

[51] Cf. N. S. Bušina, K izučeniju Stavropol'skix govorov; R. A. Kon'kov, O cimljanskom govore; V. I. Levčuk, O govore stanicy Melexovskoj; see also Grinkova and Čagiševa, Praktičeskie zanjatija, texts on pp. 167-8.

[52] Durnovo, Dialektologičeskie razyskanija, pp. 201-2.

[53] Cf. Z. Žakova, Vostočno-smolenskie govory; A. M. Iordanskij, Govor selenij Polynovki i Poljakovki (Baškir ASSR).

[54] E. S. Klejmenova, Govory južnoj časti Kalužskoj obl.

[55] N. B. Baxilina, Meščerskie govory pp. 225-6 (s. Ušinka, r. Bašmakovo).

[56] L. I. Barannikova, Govory južnozapadnoj časti Saratovskoj obl., pp. 140, 157.

[57] TMDK 10, pp. 1-3 (Kalinin), 5-6 (Smolensk); Kirillova, Narodnye govory, p. 9 (Kalinin); A. N. Gvozdev, Govor s. Sivini (Penza, Mordva ASSR); TMDK 12, pp. 107-8 (Mordva ASSR), 137-9 (Rjazan'); A. V. Tekučev, Izučenie govorov (Moscow); V. N. Sidorov, Opisanie govora (Moscow); N. Durnovao, Otčet o poezdke, p. 29 (Moscow); Baxilina, Meščerskie govory, esp. pp. 225-7 (Penza); Stroganova, K izučeniju govorov, p. 100 (Rjazan'); I. A. Ossoveckij, K dialektologii, p. 58 (Rjazan'); Atlas, map 8 (Rjazan'); Barannikova, Govory jugozapadnoj časti, pp. 140, 157 (Saratov); I. P. Glotova, Foneticeskaja sistema, p. 4 (Saratov); M. Ušakov, Zametki, p. 139 (Smolensk).

[58] Durnovo, Dialektologičeskie razyskanija (Kozlovka), p. 200.

[59] Compare E. F. Budde, Otčet o poezdke v 1902 godu, pp. 19-30 with P. Ja. Černyx, K fonetike južnorusskix govorov.

[60] Budde, Otčet o poezdke, pp. 55-7 (r. Dolgoe).

[61] All three subtypes can be found in Durnovo, Dialektologičeskie razyskanija, pp. 182-201. See also Budde, Otčet o poezdke, pp. 35-60 and 69-73 (texts from Orël and Brjansk); Xalanskij, Narodnye govory, pp. 54-79 and 95-113 (texts from Kursk), S. I. Kotkov, O rabote nad bezudanymi glasnymi kornja (Orël), O. N. Moraxovskaja, Sootnošenie tipov jakanja, pp. 77-8, 83-4 and TMDK 3, p. 62 (Rjazan'). See the above footnotes 58-60 for further references.

[62] S. Ju. Adlivankin, Govory bassejna reki Karaj, and his Vokalizm gruppy russkix govorov.

[63] Bondaletov, Dopolnitel'nye svedenija, pp. 247-9 (r. Spirovo).

[64] Moraxovskaja, Sootnošenie, pp. 84-6.

[65] V. D. Bondaletov, Dopolnitel'nye svedenija, pp. 247 (Kalinin), 238, 246 (Kujbyšev); Kujbyševskaja oblastnaja dialektologičeskaja xrestomatija, pp. 95-7 (texts); TMDK 12, p. 150 (Penza); Atlas, points 566, 572, 583, 585, 592, 856 (Rjazan'); a good summary is to be found in Moraxovskaja, Sootnošenie, pp. 84-6 (Rjazan'); Adlivankin, Govory bassejna reki Karaj, and his Vokalizm; V. N. Sidorov, Nabljudenija (Tula); E. A. Komšilova, Itogi dialektologičeskix èkspedicy, pp. 256-9 (Voronež); V. N. Kretova, O nekotoryx dialektnyx osobennostjax, p. 80 (Voronež); V. I. Stolbunova, Vokalizm govora (Ukraine).

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[66] Kretova, Itogi, p. 83. Other dialects with this system are described by Stroganova, Govory meždureč'ja, pp. 98, 103-4, and Moraxovskaja, Sootnošenie, pp. 78-9 (Rjazan'); also see TMDK 10, pp. 113-5 and Atlas, map and commentary 8.

[67] d. Timoxino, Atlas point 331. See also A. A. Šaxmatov et al., Materialy 8, pp. 12-17, and Stroganova, Govory meždureč'ja, p. 103.

[68] Stroganova, Govory meždureč'ja, p. 98.

[69] A. N. Gvozdev, Govor s. Kanuevki (Kujb.); E.V. Uxmylina, Govory Bogatovskogo r., pp. 33-4 (Kujb.); Grinkova, Voronežskie dialekty, pp. 62-4 (Lipeck); Ju. T. Listrova, K izučeniju (Lipeck); V. I. Lytkin, K voprosu o tipax jakan'ja, p. 14 (Orenburg); N. A. Moščerskij, Južnorusskie dialekty (Orenburg); Baxilina, Meščerskie govory, pp. 265-8 (Penza), an excell ent study; G. F. Nefedov, Govor sel Belyni i Pustyni (Penza); A. N. Gvozdev, Tipy velikorusskix govorov, his Dva govora odnogo sela, pp. 74-6, and his Kratkij otčet; Stroganova, Govory meždureč'ja, pp. 98, 108 (Rjazan'); Moraxovskaja, Sootnošenie, pp. 77, 83, 88 (Rjazan'); Atlas; Kretova, O nekotoryx dialektnyx osobennostjax (Voronež); Grinkova, Očerki po russkoj dialektologii, 5, pp. 85-97 (Voronež); V. I. Sobinnikova, K voprosu o razgraničenii, pp. 86-7 (Voronež).

[70] It is curious that this system is named for a Rjazan' dialect which actually belongs to type (2) above (Kultuki jakan'e); see the detailed description in R. I. Avanesov, Očerki dialektologii rjazanskoj meščery, pp. 152-3. The term is sanctioned by Avanesov himself in Avanesov and Orlova, Russkaja dialektologija, p. 59.

[71] A. S. Nikulin, Predvaritel'noe sootščenie o jazyke, pp. 116-24; Turbin, Govor tambovskix pereselencev, pp. 153ff. (Čeljabinsk); Uxmylina, Govory Bogatovskogo r. (Kujbyšev); Moraxovskaja, Sootnošenie, pp. 77, 83-5; P. S. Kuznecov, K voprosu o kačestve bezudarnyx glasnyx (Rjazan'); TMDK 3, pp. 68-9 (Rjazan'); N. Durnovo, D. Ušakov, Xrestomatija, pp. 185-7.

[72] Uxmylina, Govory (Bogatovskij r.).

[73] Scattered examples can be found in the literature, e.g., Durnovo, Dialektogičeskie razyskanija, pp. 73-98.

[74] Iordanskij, Govory selenij (Polynovka).

[75] Durnovo, Dialektologičeskie razyskanija; L. Ja. Usačeva, Fonetičeskaja sistema kurskogo govora (Belgorod); Xalanskij, Narodnye govory (most of the Kursk

dialects represented in his collection of texts); Čagiševa, O brjanskix govorax, p. 189; Šaxmatov et al., Materialy 9, pp. 202-9 (Brjansk), Materialy 11, 64-9 (Kursk), 79-84 (Orël); TMDK 10, pp. 3-5 (Brjansk), 92 (Orël); Šaxmatov, Zvukovye osobennosti (RFV 38, pp. 172-209)(Kaluga); E. I. Rezanova, Nabljudenija nad govorom (Kursk); Lytkin, K vop osu o tipax jakan'ja, p. 13 (Orenburg); Glotova, Foneti-českaja sistema, p. 4 (Saratov); N. S. Bušina, K izučeniju stavropol'skix govorov.

[76] See Usačeva, Foneticeskaja sistema.

[77] This system was identified by V. D. Bondaletov in Ob odnom variante.

[78] TMDK 3, pp. 61-2 (Rjazan'); cf. also Bondaletov's references to other materials from Saratov and Smolensk.

[79] Good examples of morphologization are cited in the studies by Moraxovskaja, Turbin, Lytkin and Zaxarova.

[80] Lytkin, K voprosu o tipax jakan'ja.

[81] A. K. Kolesničenko, Govory zapadnoj časti Eleckogo r. Lipeckogo obl.

[82] Lytkin, K voprosu o tipax jakan'ja, pp. 12-14, points 5, 7. The examples quoted are from a neighboring dialect.

[83] A. F. Manaenkova, Zamečanie o govore.

[84] See references in fn. 54; this type of jakan'e is described in 2.331.

[85] Cf. Budde, Otčet o poezdke; Černyx, K fonetike južnorusskix govorov.

[86] Baxilina, Mešcerskie govory, p. 266. See also the references in fn. 69.

[87] Cf. references in fn. 71, 72.

[88] Dialektologiceskie razyskanija, pp. 105ff.

[89] A. M. Selišcev, Zametki po velikorusskoj dialektologii, pp. 463ff.

[90] Budde, O govorax Tul'skoj i Orlovskoj gub., pp. 86-9 (Brjansk); Selišcev, Zametki; Lytkin, K voprosu o tipax jakan'ja, p. 13 (Orenburg); Moraxovskaja, Sootnošenie, p. 83 (Rjazan'); G. P. Polišcuk, Govor s. Bartenevki, p. 103-13; I. P. Glotova, Process utraty južnorusskix osobennostej, p. 4 (Saratov); Manaenkova, Zamečanija (Ukr. SSR).

[91] See S. I. Dmitriev, Govor d. Novyj Buzec.

II, 2.2, Antepretonic Vocalism

[1]R.I. Avanesov, Očerki dialektologii Rjazanskoj meščery, p. 157ff.

[2]A.A. Šaxmatov, Zvukovye osobennosti, p. 34.

[3]Avanesov, Očerki, pp. 160-163.

[4]A.A. Šaxmatov et al., Materialy 8, p. 203

[5]Cf. the map in Obrazovanie severnorusskogo narečija (hereafter OSN), p. 149.

[6]Cf. Avanesov, Očerki.

[7]See esp. O.A. Knjazevskaja, O proiznošenii glasnyx (Novgorod); T.G. Stroganova, O predudarnom vokalizme (Pskov); G.V. Šajtanova, Govory po verxnemu tečeniju (Kostroma); TMDK 8, p. 21 (Kalinin), and P.S. Kuznecov, K voprosu o kačestve bezudarnyx glasnyx, pp. 29ff.

[8]N.B. Baxilina, Meščerskie govory, p. 234; cf. V.D. Bondaletov, Dopolnitel'nye svedenija, p. 243.

[9]Atlas russkix narodnyx govorov central'nyx oblastej k vostoku ot Moskvy, point 724.

[10]F.P. Filin, Govor s. Selino, p. 286.

[11]G.F. Nefëdov, Govor sël Pustyni i Belyni, p. 22.

[12]R. Insar, Mordva ASSR; see TMDK 12, p. 101.

[13]P.A. Rastorgnev, Govory na territorii Smolenščiny, p. 46.

[14]G.A. Turbin, Govor tambovskix pereselencev (Čeljabinsk), and K.M. Braslavec, Osobennosti vokalizma, p. 361 (Tomsk).

[15]A.N. Gvozdev, Govor s. Sivini, p. 88.

[16]O.A. Knjazevskaja, Zamečanija o nekotoryx osobennostjax, p. 239.

[17]Atlas, commentary 11.

[18]R.I. Avanesov, Fonetika sovremennogo russkogo literaturnogo jazyka, p. 120.

[19]M.F. Moiseenko, Fonetičeskaja sistema, p. 89.

[20] Šaxmatov et al., Materialy 11, pp. 70-75 (Gor'kij).

[21]TMDK 12, pp. 83-85 (Vologda).

[22]TMDK 11, pp. 27-28, 28-30, 110-14, 114-16 (Arxangel'sk), 133-4, 135-6 (Tatar ASSR), 149-50 (Mari ASSR), 170-72 (Kostroma); TMDK 12, pp. 36-50, 51-2, 61-2, 63-4 (Vologda); R.I. Avanesov, V.N. Sidorov, Govory verxnego Povetluž'ja

(Kostroma); I.S. Merkur'ev, Murmanskij govor; Fonetika, vokalizm (d. Knjaž'ja Guba); Šaxmatov et al., Materialy 9, pp. 80-83, 83-85 (Vologda), 93-95 (Udmurt ASSR); L.P. Smoljakova, Nekotorye foneticeskie osobennosti, and her Iz materialov po govoram (Perm'); A.V. Tekučev, Obučenie orfografii (Kostroma); V. Mansikka, Zametki o govore Nikol'skogo u.

[23] V. Mansikka, O govore severo-vostočnoj časti Pudožskogo uezda (Karelia); (Cf. especially the dialects of Vodlozero, Kolodozero and Korbozero).

[24] R.I. Avanesov, V.N. Sidorov, Govory verxnego Povetluž'ja (Kostroma).

[25] V. Mansikka, O govore Šenkurskogo u. (Arxangel'sk), and his Zametki o govore Nikol'skogo u. (Vologda). Cf. similar patterns in Nižnjaja, Palen'ga, Lomonosovo, Rakula, Bol'šaja Tovra (r. Xolmogory, Arxangel'sk).

[26] TMDK 12, pp. 1-3, 23-24 (Gor'kij).

[27] TMDK 11, pp. 36-37 (Vladimir).

[28] TMDK 12, pp. 69-70 (Novgorod).

[29] Avanesov, Fonetika, pp. 115ff.

[30] Knjazevskaja, Zamečanija, p. 239.

[31] Rastorgnev, Govory, p. 46.

[32] For information on central dialects, see OSN, pp. 373ff.

[33] TMDK 12, pp. 123-124 (Perm')

[34] TMDK 11, pp. 129-30 (Kirov).

[35] TMDK 11, ββ. 129-30 (Kirov); TMDK 12, pp. 123, 124 (Perm'), 167-68 (Kalinin); T.S. Kislicyna, Opisanie govora d. Vystavki Kotlas (Arxangel'sk); the dialect of the city of Arxangel'sk is described in TMDK 11, pp. 2-4.

[36] TMDK 12, pp. 167-168 (Kalinin); N.D. Rusinov, Dialektizmy žitelej (Jaroslavl').

[37] Ju. V. Petrovskaja, K dialektologii rjazanskix govorov, p. 15; cf. R.T. Grib, Govor selenij po Moskovskomu traktu (1958).

[38] Šaxmatov et al., Materialy, p. 110.

[39] OSN, p. 374.

[40] O. Brok, Opisanie odnogo govora; V.G. Orlova, O govore s. Permas; I.S. Deljusina, Fonetika glasnyx; TMDK 11, pp. 73-5. Cf. also the references in fn. 35 and 23.

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[41] Brok, Opisanie.

[42] TMDK 11, pp. 73-5.

[43] TMDK 12, pp. 69-70 (Novgorod).

[44] Cf. the works cited in fn. 35.

[45] Cf. fn. 23.

[46] N.A. Bobrjakov, Vokalizm govorov.

[47] A.F. Manaenkova, Govor russkogo sela Leont'eva; I. Grek-Pabisowa, Rosyjska gwara starowierców w województwach olsztyńskim i białostockim, p. 40; M.V. Krivova, Zametki o govorax, p. 155.

[48] Cf. fn. 26.

[49] S.S. Vysotskij, O govore d. Leka, p. 39.

[50] L.I. Barannikova, Severnorusskie èlementy, p. 279-280.

[51] V.I. Čagiševa, Govory vostočnogo poberež'ja, p. 6.

[52] T.V. Kirillova, Narodnye govory Kalininskogo r.; L.I. Barannikova, Govory jugozapadnoj časti Saratovskoj obl.; Grib, Govor selenij (1959).

[53] OSN, pp. 429-431.

[54] L.I. Careva, Akan'e i jakan'e, p. 7.

[55] Šaxmatov, Zvukovye osobennosti, p. 34.

II, Chapters 2.3, 2.4 and 2.5

[1]L.P. Smoljakova, Nekotorye foneticeskie osobennosti.

[2]Cf. TMDK 12, p. 167 (Kalinin) for the southwestern limits of this area.

[3]V.V. Neboljubov, G.V. Zueva, Govory Kujbysevskogo r. (Kujbysev); TMDK 11, pp. 127-9 (Kirov), 103-4 (Arxangel'sk); TMDK 12, pp. 83-5 (Vologda); A.D. Krejman, Bor'ba s dialektizmami (Kurgan).

[4]R.I. Avanesov, O govore Perejaslavl'-Zalesskogo u.

[5]N.P. Grinkova, Očerki, 1, K voprosu o sickarjax (Jaroslavl'); TMDK 11, pp. 159-60 (Kostroma), 103-4 (Arxangel'sk); N. Karinskij, O nekotoryx govorax (Leningrad); Krejman, Bor'ba.

[6]V. Mansikka, O govore severo-vostočnoj časti Pudožskogo u. (Arxangel'sk). This is a marginal and rather exceptional case.

[7]TMDK 8, p. 21.

[8]N.A. Bobrjakov, Vokalizm govorov Kirenskogo r. Irkutskoj obl., p. 183.

[9]O.B. Sirotinina, Foneticeskaja sistema,pp. 26, 36.

[10]T.S. Kislicyna, Opisanie govora d. Vystavki Kotlas.

[11]Cf. V.I. Troickij, Russkie govory Verxne-Kamskogo kraja (Kirov).

[12]A.N. Sokolova, Foneticeskaja sistema govora Šadrinskogo g. (Kurgan).

[13]V.A. Magin, Očerk čerkasskogo govora.

[14]A.A. Šaxmatov, Zvukovye osobennosti (RFV 36), p. 77.

[15]A.N. Gvozdev, Opisanie govora s. Ušinki, pp. 90-92.

[16]Obrazovanie severnorusskogo narečija (hereafter OSN), pp. 374,378.

[17]Ju. V. Petrovskaja, K dialektologii rjazanskix govorov.

[18]For the central dialects see OSN, pp. 377ff.

[19]TMDK 12, pp. 83-5 (Volcgda).

[20]Cf. Smoljakova, Nekotorye foneticeskie osobennosti; Z.P. Zdobnova, Sistema bezudarnogo vokalizma (Udmurt ASSR); Grinkiva, Očerki, 1, (Jaroslavl'); Karinskij, O nekotoryx govorax; Avanesov, O govore.

[21]A.A. Šaxmatov et al., Materialy 9, pp. 55-59 (Arxangel'sk).

II, 2.3-2.5

[22]Samojlova, O fonetičeskix osobennostjax; Kislicyna, Opisanie; Troickij, Russkie govory; TMDK 11, pp. 103-4 (Arxangel'sk), 127-9 (Kirov), 159-60 (Kostroma); TMDK 12, pp. 83-5 (Vologda), 127-9 (Perm'), 167-8 (Kalinin); Krejman, Bor'ba; E.P. Gruševskaja, Fonetičeskie osobennosti (Sverdlovsk); V.N. Svetlova, Fonetičeskie processy, and her Fonetičeskie osobennosti; Šaxmatov et al., Materialy 9, pp. 48-55 (Kirov); V. Mansikka, O govore Šenkurskogo u. (Arxangel'sk); S.A. Eremin, Opisanie Ulomskogo i Vaučeskogo govorov (Vologda).

[23]Mansikka, O govore severo-vostočnoj časti.

[24]TMDK 10, p. 35; B.P. Ardentov, K izučeniju.

[25]L.I. Barannikova, Glasnye fonemy neudarjaemyx slogov, pp. 256-259.

[26]Z.V. Žukovskaja, O tipe govorov k jugu ot Gdova, p. 13.

[27]L.I. Barannikova, Govory jugo-zapadnoj časti Saratovskoj obl.

[28]F.P. Filin, Govor s. Selino, pp. 288-289.

[29]OSN, maps on pp. 135, 375.

[30]M.F. Moiseenko, Fonetičeskaja sistema russkix govorov, p. 93 (points 25-27, 29).

[31]ibidem, pt. 28.

[32]Atlas, map 9. Cf. also TMDK 3, p. 92 (Kalinin).

[33]T.F. Murnikova, Iz. materialov, p. 270.

[34]R.I. Avanesov, Očerki dialektologii rjazanskoj meščery, p. 164.

[35]S. Ju. Adlivankin, Vokalizm gruppy južnorusskix govorov, pp. 220-223.

[36]K.M. Braslavec, Fonetika starožil'českix russkix govorov, p. 7, and his Ketskij govor, p. 122 (Tomsk); N.B. Baxilina, Meščerskie govory, p. 267 (Penza); N.M. Maleča, Govor ural'skix kazakov, p. 10; TMDK 10, p. 24 (Kazaxstan).

[37]Šaxmatov, Zvukovye osobennosti, p. 72.

[38]K. Ieropol'skij, Govor d. Savkino, p. 587.

[39]L.I. Careva, Akan'e i jakan'e, p. 70; cf. OSN, p. 437.

[40]Sirotinina, Fonetičeskaja sistema, p. 27.

[41]I.P. Glotova, Fonetičeskaja sistema govora s. Lipovki, p. 88-90.

[42]OSN, table on p. 378.

II, 2.3-2.5

[43]Good examples can be found in G.A. Turbin, Govor tamborskix pereselencev v Čeljabinskij oblasti. Cf. also TMDK 10, p. 56 (Rjazan')

[44]O. Brok, Opisanie odnogo govora.

[45]OSN, p. 302.

[46]I.S. Merkur'ev, Murmanskij govor; Fonetika, Vokalizm .

[47]Mansikka, O govore severo-vostočnoj časti.

[48]Moiseenko, Foneticeskaja sistema, pp. 87, 95.

[49]TMDK 12, p. 190.

[50]See OSN, under the various regions.

[51]G.V. Šajtanova, Rassširenie territorii akajuščix govorov v. Kostromskoj oblasti.

[52]Glotova, Foneticeskaja sistema, pp. 91-92.

[53]N.P. Grinkova, Govor buxtarminskix staroobrjadcev, p. 440.

[54]S. Vysotskij, O govore d. Leka, pp. 37-38.

[55]OSN, tables on pp. 380-382.

[56]Magin, Očerk, pp. 63-68.

[57]V.I. Čagiševa, K izučeniju kursko-orlovskix govorov.

[58]O.N. Moraxovskaja, Govor d. Uljaxino, p. 180ff. Cf. the table in OSN, p. 382.

[59]Brok, Opisanie.

[60]R.I. Avanesov and V.N. Sidorov, Govory verxnego Povetluž'ja.

[61]Mansikka, O govore Šenkurskogo u.

[62]Mansikka, O govore severo-vostočnoj časti.

[63]O. Brok, Govory k zapadu ot Mosal'ska.

[64]OSN, p. 300.

[65]Mansikka, O govore severo-vostočnoj časti.

[66]A.N. Sokolova, Foneticeskaja sistema govora Ščadrinskogo rajona.

II, Chapter 3, The Prosodic Features

[1]R.I. Avanesov, Fonetika sovremennogo russkogo literaturnogo jazyka, pp. 84-87.

[2]V.V. Kolesov, Ob odnoj drevnerusskoj dialektnoj sisteme udarenija.

[3]V. Černyšev, Govor Puškinskogo rajona.

[4]P.S. Kuznecov, Russkaja dialektologija, 3d. ed., p. 42. For older examples see M. Kolosov, Obzor zvukovyx i formal'nyx osobennostej narodnogo russkogo jazykapp. 135ff.

[5]B.P. Ardentov, K izučeniju zaonežskogo dialekta, (he refers to a more complete study, as yet unpublished: N.Ja. Korenev, Udarenie v govore d. Voronij ostrov Tipinickogo sel'soveta Zaonežskogo r. K-FSSR, 1949) A. Ponomarëv, Kižskoe narečie, pp. 7-9; TMDK 12, 1931, pp. 88-91; a comprehensive bibliography can be found in N.P. Grinkova, K izučeniju oloneckix dialektov.

[6]See A. Grandilevskij, Rodina M.V. Lomonosova, pp. 58-64.

[7]See V. Mansikka, O govore Šenkurskogo u., pp. 126-7.

[8]See O. Brok, Opisanie odnogo govora, pp. 10-22.

[9]See V. Mansikka, O govore severo-vostočnoj časti Pudožskogo u., p. 145.

[10]See N. Vinogradov, O narodnom govore, pp. 48-55.

[11]See L.P. Smoljakova, Nekotorye foneticeskie osobennosti, pp. 315ff.

[12]P.S. Kuznecov, O govorax Verxnej Pinegi i Verxnej Tojmy, p. 20.

[13]For examples from dialects in transition see O.A. Knjazevskaja et al., Ob itogax dialektologičeskoj èkspedicii (Novgorod); T.G. Stroganova, O predudarnom vokalizme (Pskov); G.V. Šajtanova, Rasširenie territorii akajuščix govorov (Kostroma).

[14]See the answers to questions 10-16 in the southern program by A.A. Šaxmatov et al. and 3-5 in the southern programs of the MDK.

[15]Brok, Govory k zapadu ot Mosal'ska, pp. 6-11, 43-48.

[16]F.P. Filin, Govor s. Selino, pp. 281-85; E.I. Rezanova, Nabljudenija nad govorom, pp. 224, 232; N.P. Grinkova, Očerki po russkoj dialektologii, 5, pp. 87, 100; V.I. Trostjanskij, K izučeniju mestnyx govorov, p. 21; V.A. Magin, Očerk čerkasskogo govora, pp. 57-8.

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[17]For example, S.I. Kotkov, O rabote nad bezudarnymi glasnymi, p. 46.

[18]These examples are taken from Z.I. Nosova, Glagol'nye formy, p. 38-9.

[19]Avanesov, Fonetika, pp. 60-8.

[20]V.I. Popov, Zamečanija o severno-smolenskix i rževskix govorax, p. 229.

[21]G. Gerovskij, Iz severno-russkoj fonetike, p. 281.

[22]P.S. Kuznecov, O bezudarnom vokalizme.

[23]R.I. Avanesov, Očerki dialektologii rjazanskoj meščery, pp. 159, 166.

[24]S.S. Vysotskij, Opredelenie sostava glasnyx fonem, p. 9ff;
Brok, Opisanie, p. 17.

[25]S.A. Eremin, Opisanie Ulomskogo i Vaučskogo govorov, pp. 10-15.

[26]Kuznecov, O govorax Verxnej Pinegi i Vernej Tojmy, pp. 11-15.

[27]Brok, Opisanie, p. 17.

[28]Brok, Govory.

[29]N.B. Baxilina, Mešč̌erskie govory, pp. 267-8.

[30]A.N. Gvozdev, Govor s. Sivini, p. 92.

[31]Z.M. Al'muxamedova, Xarakter redukcii glasnyx.

[32]Ju. V. Petrovskaja, K dialektologii rjazanskix govorov, p. 26.

[33]A very disorganized but detailed study of prosodic features in three different systems (Northern, East-central, and literary) is that of L. V. Zlatoustova, O prirode slovesnogo udarenija v okajušč̌ix govorax.

Consonantal Systems

III, Chapter 1.1, Inventories of Palatalized Consonants

[1] N. B. Baxilina, Meščerskie govory.

[2] TMDK, 3, pp. 53-4.

[3] See Obrazovanie severnorusskogo narečija (hereafter OSN), map, p. 36. Geographical remarks on phonemic velar palatalization here and below are based largely on the material in TMDK, supplemented by individual studies too numerous to list (most are from the section Regional Studies in the accompanying bibliography, volume III).

[4] N. S. Merkur'ev, Murmanskij govor; Konsonantizm.

[5] V. I. Černyšev, Materialy dlja izučenija govorov i byta Meščovskogo u.

[6] cf. L. I. Pirogova, Opisanie govora šesti punktov (Arxangel'sk), F. D. Perevozčikova, Morfologičeskij očerk (Kirov), L. I. Careva, Govory jugozapadnoj časti Pskovskoj obl. (Pskov), A. S. Maduev, K dialektologii Saratovskoj gub. (Saratov).

[7] Atlas, points 220, 580, 605; O. Brok, Opisanie odnogo govora.

[8] TMDK 11, p. 185.

[9] R. I. Avanesov, Očerk russkoj dialektologii (hereafter ORD), p. 163.

[10] Atlas, point 221.

[11] S. A. Olenina, Xarakternye osobennosti govorov Murašinskogo r.

[12] See map in OSN, p. 100.

[13] O. G. Gecova, Govor s. Katagoščі; Atlas, point 568.

[14] Avanesov, ORD, p. 136.

[15] OSN, pp. 271, 404-6; E. S. Klejmenova, Govory južnoj časti Kalužskoj oblasti, p. 9; S. A. Koporskij, Arxaičeskie govory Ostaškovskogo r., pp. 19 ff.; P. A. Rastorguev, Govory na territorii Smolenščiny, pp. 74-6; Atlas map and

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commentary 59; A. M. Seliščev, Dialektologičeskij očerk Sibiri, pp. 56-62. Other studies describing this phenomenon are: Černyšev, Pskovskoe narečie; R. I. Avanesov and V. N. Sidorov, Govory Verxnego Povetluž'ja, pp. 6, 28-9 (Kostroma); M. N. Buval'ceva, Govory Belozerskogo r. Vologodskoj obl., p. 7; V. F. Baraškov, K izučeniju russkogo govora severnoj časti Karsovajskogo r., pp. 275-6 (Udmurt ASSR); Z. I. Nosova, Konsonantizm govorov Bratskogo r., pp. 163-4 (Irkutsk).

[16]Pirogova, Opisanie govora.

[17]M. A. Kustareva, Materialy k izučeniju govorov Smolenščiny, pp. 156-7; cf. V. I. Černyšev, Pskovskoe narečie, p. 165 (d. Podgor'e).

[18]Seliščev; Dialektologičeskij očerk, pp. 56-62.

[19]R. I. Avanesov, ORD, p. 136; cf. I. O. Kuz'min, Otčet o poezdke v Velikoluckij okrug; V. I. Čagiševa, O brjanskix govorax; S. S. Vysotskij, O govore d. Leka.

[20]P. Černyx, Russkie govory Mamyrskoj volosti, pp. 358-62. In this dialect the affricates replacing /t', d'/ are "soft" while those replacing /s', z'/ are "šepeljavye", hence we assume they differ fundamentally as dental/palatal.

[21]d. Astaxovo, Atlas, point 329.

[22]R. I. Avanesov and V. G. Orlova, eds., Russkaja dialektologija, p. 86; A. M. Kuznecova, Nekotorye voprosy foneticeskoj xarakteristiki javlenija tverdosti-mjagkosti soglasnyx, p. 84; G. A. Turbin, Dialektologičeskaja èkspedicija v zapadnuju čast' Čeljabinskoj obl.

[23]V. G. Orlova, Istorija affrikat v russkom jazyke, p. 52.

[24]TMDK 11, p. 171.

III, Chapter 1.2, Neutralization of Palatalization

[1] R. I. Avanesov, V. G. Orlova, eds., Russkaja dialektologija, p. 85.

[2] O. N. Moraxovskaja, Govor d. Uljaxino, pp. 167, 200.

[3] Cf. Ju. S. Azarx, Otverdenie parnyx mjagikix soglasnyx pered glasnymi, pp. 143-44.

[4] S. S. Vysotskij, O govore d. Leka, pp. 45-9.

[5] Avanesov and Orlova, p. 85.

[6] O. Brok, Opisanie odnogo govora.

[7] Avanesov and Orlova, p. 85.

[8] Azarx, p. 145.

[9] Azarx, p. 144.

[10] Azarx, p. 145.

[11] Vysotskij, O govore d. Leka, states that loss of palatalization is "typical of weaker [i.e. unstressed] syllables" (this is repeated in Avanesov and Orlova, p. 85, without any documentation) and that hard consonants rarely appear before stressed /é/. Azarx, on the other hand, (p. 140), says that he was unable to find any relationship between depalatalization and the place of stress.

[12] A. N. Gvozdev, Zametka o govore s. Tixonova.

[13] Avanesov and Orlova, p. 85, and Azarx, p. 147.

[14] V. I. Čagiševa, K izučeniju kursko-orlovskix govorov.

[15] R. F. Paufošima, Èksperimental'no-foneticeskoe issledovanie, p. 12.

[16] E. S. Klejmenova, Govory južnoj časti Kalužskoj obl.

[17] Avanesov and Orlova, p. 85.

[18] Azarx, p. 143.

[19] Avanesov and Orlova, p. 85; Azarx, p. 142-3.

[20] Azarx, p. 143.

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[21] Azarx, p. 139.

[22] Klejmenova, Govory; E. F. Budde, O nekotoryx narodnyx govorax v Tul'skoj i Kalužskoj gub.; O. G. Gecova, Govor s. Katagošči.

[23] Atlas, map 60 and commentary.

[24] R. I. Avanesov, Očerki russkoj dialektologii (hereafter ORD), p. 163.

[25] Atlas, map 151.

[26] Atlas, commentary 58.

[27] Avanesov, ORD, p. 163.

[28] Atlas, map 151: Obrazovanie severnorusskogo narečija (hereafter OSN), p. 100.

[29] Atlas, points 74, 108.

[30] Avanesov and Orlova, p. 255; Atlas, map 119.

[31] OSN, p. 66.

[32] OSN, p. 62.

[33] Selišče v, Dialektologičeskij očerk, pp. 36-8, 275.

[34] OSN, p. 66.

[35] OSN, pp. 61 ff.

[36] A. A. Šaxmatov et al., Materialy 3, p. 967.

[37] Avanesov, ORD, p. 170 and Avanesov and Orlova, p. 266.

[38] Šaxmatov et al., Materialy 9, pp. 40, 64. Cf. also Atlas, map 67.

[39] Avanesov and Orlova, p. 266, 274, 294; OSN, p. 409; Atlas, map 65.

[40] Šaxmatov et al., Materialy 2, p. 558. also Avanesov and Orlova, p. 92.

[41] Šaxmatov et al., Materialy 9, p. 3.

[42] The examples are from P. A. Rastorguev, Severs ko-belorusskij govor, p. 56-7 and his Govory na territorii Smolenščiny, p. 68-9.

[43] Avanesov, ORD, p. 228, restricts it to the southwest zone, but it is attested in Pskov (Šaxmatov et al., Materialy 11, p. 109), and Vladimir, (TMDK 11, various places).

[44] Šaxmatov et al., Materialy 9, p. 52; cf. Avanesov and Orlova, p. 92.

[45] OSN, p. 249, 271, and Atlas, map 66.

[46] E. P. Luppova, Govor Kumenskoj volosti, p. 72.

[47] OSN, p. 205, 249, 271, 378.

[48] Avanesova and Orlova, p. 262, although on p. 88 it is restricted to the Southeast; cf. Atlas, map 62.

[49] The classic discussions of this question are D. K. Zelenin, Velikorusskie govory s neorganičeskim i neperexodnym smjagčeniem zadnenëbnyx soglasnyx (1912) and L. L. Kasatkin, Progressivnoe assimiljativnoe smjagčenie zadnenëbnyx soglasnyx v russkix govorax (1968). Using the new material collected for the Atlas, Kasatkin documents his conclusions much more substantially, although his conclusions are basically the same. Our analysis is based on Kasatkin.

[50] Kasatkin (p. 58) distinguishes two kinds of dialects with both [k] and [k']: in one the older generation consistently has [k'] and the younger, [k], and in the other, both older and younger have k/k' in free variation.

[51] Cf. Kasatkin's maps: 2, pp. 8-9 on [k'] throughout European Russia and 7, p. 42, on the distribution of [k'], [g'] and [x'] in the North.

[52] S. I. Kotkov, Zametki po konsonantizmu kursko-orlovskix govorov, pp. 52-3.

[53] We have not seen any report specifically exempting [x] from assimilation, but such a type is quite plausible. Errors may have been introduced into Kasatkin's map 7, p. 42, by the poor documentation of [x']. The map does indicate that the patterns [k', x'], [x'], [g', x'] are rare and scattered.

[54] Kasatkin, map 7, p. 42.

[55] Kasatkin, map 4, p. 16-17.

[56] The incomplete map on p. 36 defines this and the various subtypes of 2.

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[57][deleted fn.]

[58]V.D. Levin, O dialektologičeskoj èkspedicii.

[59]A.G. Mil'čakova-Ivakina, Opisanie govora d. Ivakino.

[60]Cf. Zelenin, p. 472.

[61]Kasatkin, map 6, p. 36.

[62]O. Brok, Opisanie odnogo govora; cf. V.I. Čagiševa, Govory vostočnogo poberež'ja ozera Il'men'.

[63]Kasatkin's maps 5 and 6 give a more precise definition of these areas; cf. also Avanesov and Orlova, p. 259, 268, 277.

[64]G.A. Turbin, Govor tambovskix pereselencev v Čeljabinskoj obl.

[65]Cf. Zelenin, p. 36; O.N. Moraxovskaja, Govor d. Uljaxino, p. 201; F.F. Gerasimova, Nekotorye leksičeskie osobennosti, p. 30; TMDK 3, p. 84; R.A. Junaleeva, Ob assimiljativnom smjagčenii zadnenebnyx, p. 131. Kasatin quotes excellent examples on pp. 8-20.

[66]Kasatkin, map 3, p. 16-17.

[67]B.P. Ardentov, K izučeniju zaonežskogo dialekta, p. 82.

[68]OSN, p. 249, 305.

[69]TMDK 11, p. 184.

[70]V.P. Mansikka, O govore severo-vostočnoj časti Pudožskogo u.

[71]Avanesov, ORD, pp. 218, 228; Avanesov and Orlova, pp. 237, 285 although on p. 88 the opposition is restricted to east-central dialects; cf. OSN, pp. 33-41, map, p. 43.

[72] L. P. Smoljakova, Iz materialov; Šaxmatov et al., Materialy 8, pp. 162, 218, 236, and Materialy 9, pp. 52, 227, 235.

[73]Šaxmatov et al., Materialy 9, p. 149.

[74]Ibid., p. 200.

[75]TMDK 11, p. 132.

[76]TMDK 8, p. 47.

[77]G.V. Šajtanova, K voprosu o sootnošenii, p. 46.

III, Chapter 2, The Voiced/Voiceless Opposition

[1] The obstruents and sonorants do have voiceless or voiced positional variants (see below). The so-called long s̬s̬ and z̬z̬ can be interpreted as clusters /s̬s̬, z̬z̬/.

[2] See the maps in R. I. Avanesov and V. G. Orlova, eds., Russkaja dialektologija, p. 234 (no. 7) and Obrazovanie severnorusskogo narečija, p. 133.

[3] V. I. Černyšev, Govory nižegorodskoj gub., pp. A81-A84 (r. Bol'šoe Boldino, s. Mixajlovskij Majdan).

[4] Cf. Atlas, map and commentary 46; V. L. Tagunova, O soxranenii zvonkix soglasnyx na konce slova (Vladimir); S. A. Eremin, Xarakteristika narodnyx govorov po r. Kostrome, p. 5 (Kostroma); N. N. Vinogradov, O narodnom govore Šungenskoj v. Kostromskogo u.

Avanesov and Orlova, RD, p. 84, call the phenomenon "very irregular" and say it is more common in word-final position. In the deep South it may be due to Ukrainian influence.

III, Chapter 3, Palatal Consonants

[1] The precise phonetic quality of the mellow palatals has not yet been defined. In the literature the mellow palatal replacing č is usually indicated as ť, while palatals replacing s', z'are indicated as s'', z'', i.e. palatal with dental contact; the latter are apparently very close to Polish ś, ź and we shall use the Polish symbols. The ť from č is probably different from ś (but see R. I. Avanesov and V. G. Orlova, eds., Russkaja dialektologija (hereafter RD) p. 86); however, the two varieties of mellow palatal are not phonologically distinct in the same dialect, so we can designate both by ś. For the most thorough discussion of šepeljavost' see A. M. Selišev, Dialektologičeskij očerk Sibiri, esp. pp. 62-4, 196-204.

[2] P. A. Rastorguev, Severskо-belorusskij govor, pp. 53-4; Rastorguev, Govory na territorii Smolenščiny, p. 87.

[3] V. G. Orlova, Istorija affrikat, p. 41.

[4] E. V. Matveeva, Zametki o govore naselenija vostočnoj časti Koršinskoj volosti.

[5] Matveeva, Zametki, p. 29.

[6] Orlova, Istorija, p. 151.

[7] RD, p. 83; Orlova, Istorija, pp. 150-157; S. I. Kotkov, K izučeniju orlovskix govorov, pp. 36-48; L. Ja. Usačeva, K istorii kurskogo govora; T. G. Stroganova, K izučeniju govorov meždureč'ja Oki-Kljazmy, p. 122; E. P. Gruševskaja, Foneticeskie osobennosti govora Zajkovskogo r., p. 69; L. P. Smoljakova, Iz materialov po govoram srednego Pokam'ja, pp. 155-6; M. F. Moiseenko, Foneticeskaja sistema russkix govorov, p. 99; A. M. Iordanskij, Govory selenij Polynovki i Poljakovki, pp. 96-104; E. K. Baxmutova, Materialy polevyx zapisej; E. P. Luppova, K voprosu o rasprostranenii dialektnyx osobennostej, pp. 252-3. Cf. also the Atlas, map and commentary 40.

[8] Obrazovanie severnorusskogo narečija (hereafter OSN), pp. 403-6.

[9] OSN, p. 339; Atlas, maps 40, 61.

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[10]L.I. Pirogova, Opisanie govora šesti punktov.

[11]Atlas, map and commentary 59.

[12]M.N. Buval'ceva, Govory Belozerskogo .; R.I. Avanesov, Očerki russkoj dialektologii (hereafter ORD), p. 136; F.L. Skitova, Iz nabljudenij nad tradicionnymi govorami; Skitova, Verxneviščerskie govory Permskoj obl.; I.A. Kanšin, Usen'Ivanovskij govor Baškirskoj ASSR; G.A. Turbin, Govor tambovskix pereselencev; R.T. Grib, Govor selenij po moskovskomu traktu; K.M. Braslavec, Zametki po fonetike s. Makovskogo.

[13]Atlas, point 469 (r. Gagino).

[14]O.V. Gorškova and T.A. Xmelevskaja, Sbornik upražnenij po dialektologii, p. 24; N.P. Grinkova and V.I. Čagiševa, Praktičeskie zanjatija, pp. 95-6, 142-3; Rastorguev, Severskо-Belorusskij govor, p. 156; V.A. Malaxovskij, Kujbyševskaja oblastnaja dialektologičeskaja xrestomatija, p. 40; Avanesov, ORD, p. 131; Atlas, map 40.

[15]TMDK 3, p. 54; cf. Avanesov, ORD, p. 135; S.A. Eremin and I.A. Falev, Russkaja dialektologija, p. 94; Luppova, K voprosu, p. 249. For the palatals in general cf. also the responses to questions 44(North) and 85 (South) in the Materialy of A.A. Šaxmatov et al., and to questions 21 (South) and 40 (North) in the MDK programs.

[16]Šaxmatov et al., Materialy 8, p. 118; cf. RD, p. 87; Avanesov, ORD, p. 159; A.G. Mil'čakova-Ivakina, Opisanie govora d. Ivakino; L.P. Smoljakova, Nekotorye fonetičeskie osobennosti russkix govorov po srednemu tečeniju Kam , pp. 341-2.

[17]Šaxmatov et al., Materialy 2, p. 567.

[18]V.A. Magin, Očerk čerkasskogo govora, pp. 110-111.

[19]P. Černyx, Russkie govory Ilimskogo kraja, p. 8; see also Seliščev, Dialektologičeskij očerk Sibiri, pp. 58-9, 190-215.

[20]Grib, Govor selenij.

[21]OSN, pp. 271-2 (Vologda), 405 (Pskov); V.N. Sidorov, Nabljudenija nad jazykom odnogo iz govorov rjazanskoj meščery, p. 108.

[22]O.A. Deržavina, Govor goroda Uglič, p. 100.

[23]Šaxmatov et al., Materialy 9, pp. 114-5.

[24]The geographical distribution of šš and śś is shown on the map in OSN, p. 31.

[25]O. Brok, Opisanie odnogo govora, pp. 60-1; cf. S.A. Eremin, Opisanie Ulomskogo i Vaučskogo govorov, p. 63.

[26]V.I. Černyšev, Govory južnoj časti byvšego Nižegorodskoj gub.; cf. Šaxmatov et al., Materialy 3, p. 992 (Vologda).

[27]Šaxmatov et al., Materialy 8, p. 106.

[28]Šaxmatov et al., Materialy 9, p. 150.

[29]OSN, pp. 29-33.

[30]E.P. Luppova, K voprosu o rasprostranenii dialektnyx osobennostej, p. 251.

[31]TMDK 12, p. 12.

[32]R.I. Avanesov, Zametki o govore s. Semenovskogo, p. 247.

[33]TMDK 11, p. 185.

[34]TMDK 12, p. 168.

[35]D.K. Zelenin, Usen'Ivanovskij govor.

[36]Examples of positional and lexical variants abound in the Materialy and TMDK.

[37]Eremin, Opisanie; Šaxmatov et al., Materialy 9, pp. 175-7, 177-8, 187-8, 192, 194-8.

[38]Grinkova and Čagiševa, pp. 29-32; Šaxmatov et al., Materialy 4, pp. 268-79, Materialy 9, pp. 98-100, Materialy 11, pp. 70-75.

[39]OSN, p. 30; RD, p. 89.

[40]TMDK 10, pp. 24-5.

[41]F.P. Filin, Govor s. Selino.

[42]I.S. Merkur'ev, Murmanskij govor (Konsonantizm).

III, Chapter 4, Affricates

[1]Examples here and below, unless otherwise designated, are taken from V.G. Orlova, Istorija affrikat v russkom jazyke.

[2]N. Vinogradov, O narodnom govore Šungenskoj vol., p. 45.

[3]The geographical statements in this chapter are based mainly on Orlova's Istorija affrikat. However, her maps must be used with care, since they reflect phonetic rather than phonemic distinctions. For example, a western Vologda dialect (d. Bereznjak, p. 57) in the following example, is classified as having čokan'e: c'órnoj, nóc', p'éc'ka, dócka, vnúcka, cás, n'escásnoj, ofcá, kol'có, capám'i and kúr'ica, ofčá, kol'čó, kon'éč, jajčó. The occurence of c for etymological č and vice versa is very implausible. More likely, this dialect has one affricate, ć, with a wide range of both palatal and dental variants. We have disregarded such questionable data.

[4]TMDK 11, p. 122.

[5]According to R.I. Avanesov and V.G. Orlova, eds., Russkaja dialektologija, p. 82, čokan'e "can not be considered an independent type . . . because it occurs primarily in dialects in which soft cokan'e clearly predominates." Almost all studies record only material which differs from the literary language; information on a cokan'e dialect, for example, rarely includes any examples of etymological c, and the reader is left to supply his own.

[6]Avanesov and Orlova, p. 82.

[7]Orlova, Istorija, cites good examples; also see her map on the Northeast.

[8]N.M. Karinskij, Očerki jazyka russkix krest'jan.

[9]O. Brok, Opisanie odnogo govora.

[10]Cf., for example, the dialect of d. Drjagunjata (Kirov), Orlova, Istorija, p. 34. Here there is only one affricate, different from both literary č and c, so an investigator may hear the "wrong" phoneme every time. Some of the transcribed examples are c'áj, molc'ú, bóc'ka and čas't'áx, úl'ica, jajčó. If this phoneme were consistently a palatalized dental c' one might expect the investigator to identify it rather easily. Unfortunately, the collected examples of c' were not published in the Atlas (commentary 40) for the eastern dialects.

III, Chapter 5, Grave Spirants

[1] According to the Academy Grammar, I (1960), p. 75, assimilation of voice is permissible in colloquial speech.

[2] The precise phonetic quality of what we designate /w/ is not defined in any work, but it is probable that there are two kinds of bilabials that occur in Russian dialects, a mellow fricative [β], as occurs in, e.g., Spanish, and a nonfricative semivowel like that in English. Few Russian investigators make mention of these possibilities: even Olaf Brok, an excellent phonetician, remarked, ". . . there is no clear distinction between v and w, i.e. fricative [frikativnymi--NB] labiodental and bilabial (with a more or less pronounced participation of the upper lip in its articulation), or between these spirants and u, the vowel u used consonantally. . . . Although v is encountered often . . . w is evidently more common" (Govory k zapadu ot Mosal'ska, pp. 13-14).

[3] Some dialects lack a voiceless labiodental spirant before a vowel, so they interpret foreign [f] here with their only voiceless (and also grave) spirant /x/, attempting to preserve the phonetic characteristics of the foreign word by adding a labial element before or after it, e.g., xvartúk, xf'ódor, fxartúk. In some words this labial element is later lost, resulting in forms like xórma, xúnt (fórma, fúnt).

[4] But, according to one authority, "It is highly probable. . . that the cluster xv [replacing f] is a single complex not the same as the usual cluster. Sometimes it is noted that the second element of this cluster is a bilabial, frequently voiceless" (R. I. Avanesov and V. G. Orlora, eds., Russkaja dialektologija, p. 77).

[5] R. I. Avanesov and V. N. Sidorov, Govory verxnej povetluž'ja; G. V. Šajtanova, K voprosu o sootnošenii vnešnix i vnutrennix faktorov razvitija jazyka.

[6] V. N. Svetlova, Fonetičeskie processy v nekotoryx govorax vostočnyx rajonax Sverdlovskoj oblasti.

[7] S. A. Eremin, Xarakteristika narodnyx govorov po r. Kostroma; N. B. Parikova, O nekotoryx osobennostjax tul'skix govorov; M. A. Bricyn, Russkie govory Vin'koveckogo rajona; Ju. T. Listrova, O južnorusskix govorax na territorii Moldavii.

[8] Unless specified otherwise, examples are cited from V. G. Orlova, Gubnye spiranty v russkom jazyke.

[9] In some dialects /w/ is optionally dropped before vowels, e.g., /čaó, žiút/ in Moscow, /d'éuška/ in Siberia.

[10] V. N. Kretova, O nekotoryx dialektologičeskix osobennostjax.

[11] Ibid.; V. I. Sobinnikova, Govory Gremjačenskogo rajona.

[12] Atlas russkix narodnyx govorov k vostoku ot Moskvy, point 880.

[13] Ibid., point 324.

[14] M. A. Kustareva, Materialy k izučeniju govorov Smolenščiny; Z. I. Žakova, Vostočno-smolenskie govory; A. V. Korol'kova, Fonetiko-morfologičeskie osobennosti; S. I. Kotkov, K izučeniju orlovskix govorov; V. I. Čagiševa, O brjanskix govorax; V. I. Sobinnikova, Govor Russkoj Matrenki; E. A. Komšilova, Itogi dialektologičeskoj èkspedicii; G. P. Bondarenko, O govorax Stavropol'ja.

[15] Čagiševa, op. cit.; L. Ja. Usačeva, K istorii kurskogo govora.

[16] M. V. Krivova, Zametki o govorax Beloreckogo rajona.

[17] Avanesov and Orlova, p. 80; V. N. Teplova, Zvuki [l], [L], [ɯ] na meste ètimologičeskogo [l] tverdogo.

[18] Orlova, Gubnye spiranty.

[19] Avanesov and Orlova, p. 72.

[20] Ibid.

III, Chapter 6, Liquid Consonants

[1]V.G. Bogoraz, Oblastnoj slovar' Kolymskogo russkogo narečija, pp. 5ff.

[2]Dyjalektalahičny atlas belaruskaj movy, map 42.

[3]P.A. Rastorguev, Severskо-belorusskij govor, pp. 41-8.

[4]O. Brok, Opisanie odnogo govora, pp. 64, 114.

[5]A.M. Seliščev, Dialektologičeskij očerk Sibiri, p. 47.

[6]V.N. Teplova, Zvuki [l], [L], [w], p. 160.

[7]P. A. Rastorguev, Govory na territorii Smolenščiny, pp. 63-7; cf. also E.P. Luppova, K voprosu o rasprostranenii, pp. 246-8 (Kirov) and Teplova, map, p. 159.

[8]Teplova, p. 161.

[9]Teplova, map, p. 159.

[10]Obrazovanie severnorusskogo narečija, (hereafter OSN), map, p. 52.

[11]Teplova, p. 162.

[12]For a detailed discussion with references see OSN, pp. 53-4.

[13]Teplova, p. 160.

[14]Teplova, p. 173.

[15]Teplova, p. 173.

III, Chapter 7, Consonant Clusters

[1]A.K. Vasil'eva, Ob izmenenii sočetanija soglasnyx vn i mn po govoram russkogo jazyka; N.P. Grinkova and V.I. Čagiševa, Praktičeskie zanjatija po dialektologii, p. 45; S.A. Eremin, Opisanie Ulomskogo i Vaučskogo govorov, pp. 54-64; Z.P. Zdobnova, Sistema bezudarnogo vokalizma. Cf. also Atlas, map 52.

[2]Eremin, Opisanie.

[3]Vasil'eva, Ob izmenenii.

[4]V. Černyšev, Govor Puškinskogo r.

[5]E.F. Budde, O govorax Tul'skoj i Orlovskoj gubernij, pp. 69-73; V.A. Malaxovskij, Kujbyševskaja oblastnaja dialektologičeskaja xrestomatija, pp. 77-8; N.S. Merkur'ev, Murmanskij govor; Eremin, Opisanie.

[6]Černyšev, Govor Puškinskogo r.

[7]M.D. Mal'cev, Zametki po voprosu ob obrazovanii sovremennyx meždialektnyx kojnè.

[8]Examples abound in Šaxmatov, et al., Materialy. Unfortunately, the question was omitted from the MDK Program

[9]See Atlas commentaries 69, 70.

[10]A.A. Šaxmatov et al., Materialy 9, p. 114.

[11]P.A. Rastorguev, Govory na territorii Smolenščiny, p. 92.

[12]Dyjalektalahičny atlas belaruskaj movy, maps 62, 63.

[13]I. Grek-Pabisowa, Rosyjska gwara, p. 65.

[14] Many examples can be found in the older literature, e.g. the Materialy, MDK reports, and various articles in IORJas, SORJaS and TMDK,

[15]Kaluga is the only southern oblast, i.e. the only akan'e region in which this phenomenon has been observed.

[16]E.G. Burova, Dialektnye izmenenija i zameny k. Most of our information on velar clusters was obtained from this article, which cites data from the unpublished volumes of the Atlas.

[17]For a detailed map of these phenomena see Burova, Dialektnye izmenenija, p. 224. The study lacks data for much of the Southwest.

[18]Šaxmatov, et al., Materialy 6, pp. 5-8.

[19]Obrazovanie severnorusskogo narečija (hereafter OSN), pp. 44-50.

III, 7

[20]P.A. Rastorguev, Severskо-belorusskij govor, pp. 65-6.

[21]O. Brok, Govory k zapadu ot Mosal'ska.

[22]OSN, map, p. 47.

[23]V.I. Černyšev, Govor goroda Ostaškova, p. 268.

[24]Šaxmatov et al., Materialy 8, p. 201, Materialy 11, p. 130.

[25]Malaxovskij, Kujbyševskaja xrestomatija, p. 109.

[26]R.I. Avanesov and V.G. Orlova, eds., Russkaja dialektologija, p. 91.

[27]S.A. Koporskij, Araxaičeskie govory Ostaškovskogo r.; Černyšev, Govor Puškinskogo r.

[28]Černyšev, Govory (Pskov); Šaxmatov et al., Materialy 5, p. 7; cf. Materialy 11, p. 1. (Vladimir).

[29]Rastorguev, Govory, p. 93.

[30]Mal'cev, Zametki.

[31]Šaxmatov et al., Materialy 11, p. 64.

[32]V.G. Bogoraz, Oblastnoj slovar' Kolymskogo russkogo narečija.

[33]Grinkova and Čagiševa, Praktičeskie zanjatija, pp. 124-6 (Čeljabinsk); Šaxmatov et al., Materialy 11, p. 36 (Kaluga).

[34]Šaxmatov et al., Materialy 9, p. 52.

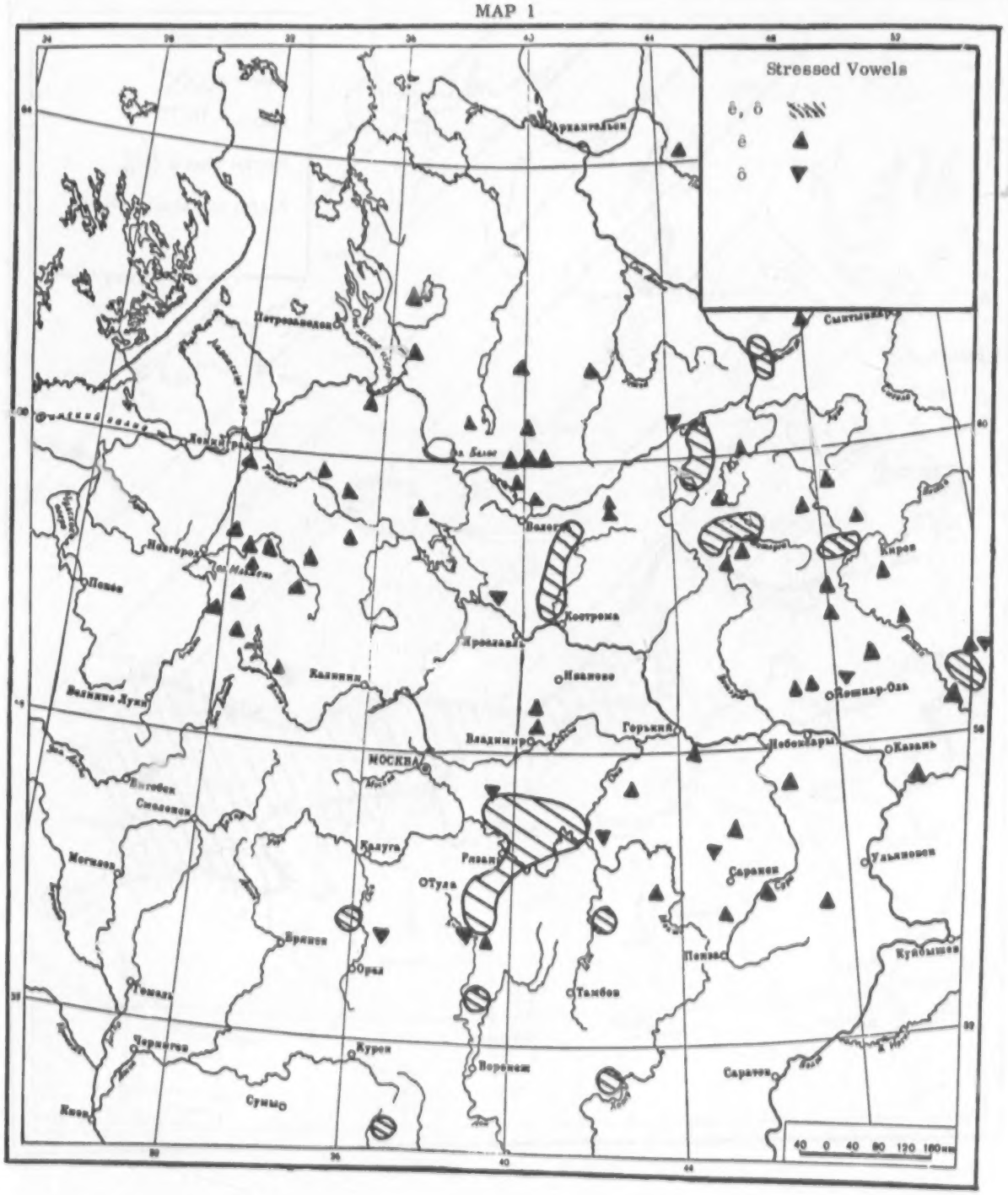
[35]Ibidem, p. 139.

[36]Šaxmatov et al., Materialy 4, pp. 232-44, 245-65, Mat. 6, p. 8; Grinkova and Čagiševa, p. 70; M.D. Mal'cev, O nekotoryx govorax Dnovskogo i Porxovskogo .

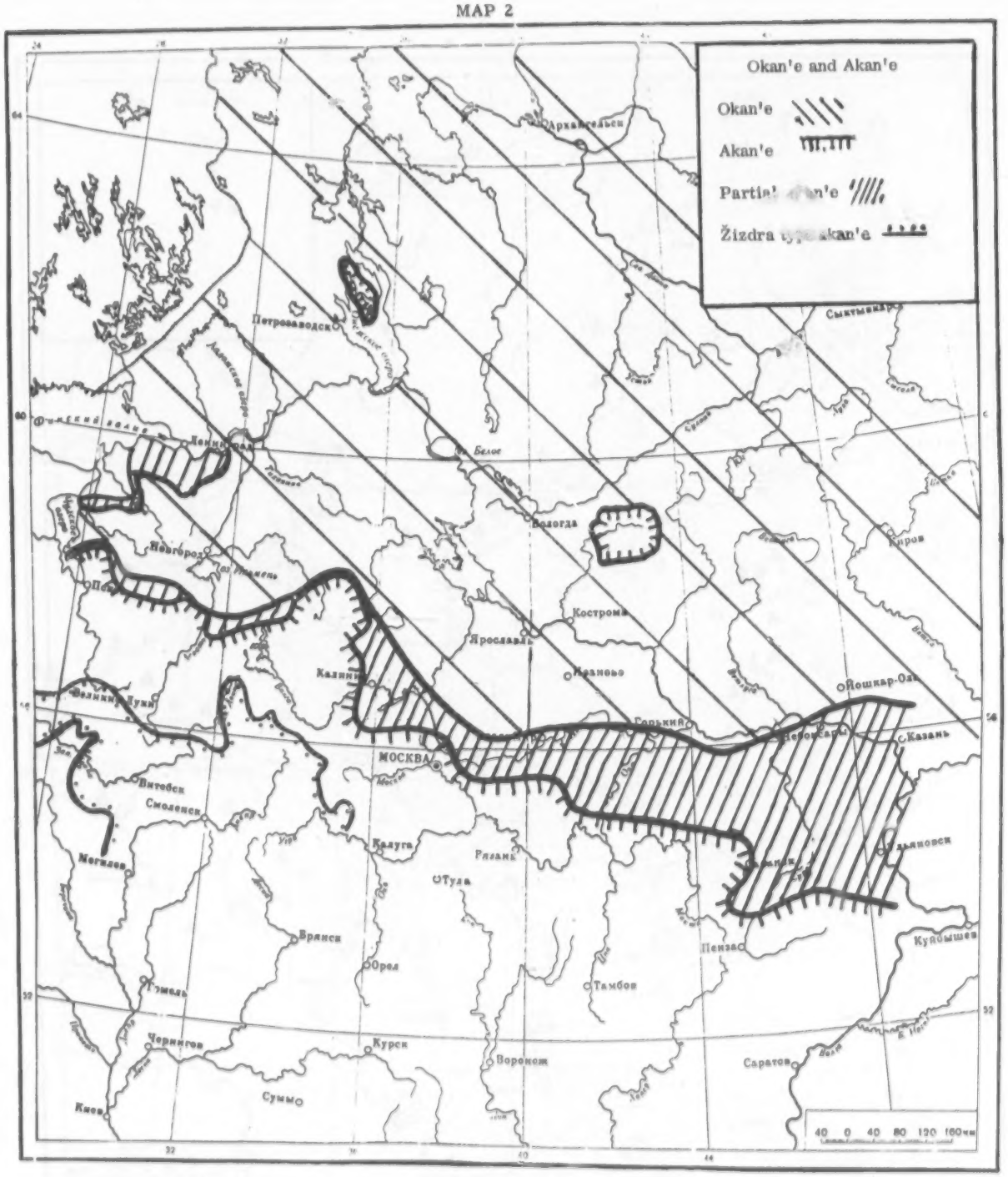
[37]TMDK 11, p. 103; Šaxmatov et al., Materialy 4, pp. 232, 245, Materialy 5, p. 43, Materialy 6, p. 8, Materialy 8, p. 105, Materialy 9, p. 203, Materialy 11, p. 116; Grinkova and Čagičeva, Praktičeskie zanjatija, p. 70.

[38]Černyšev, Govory Puškinskogo r.

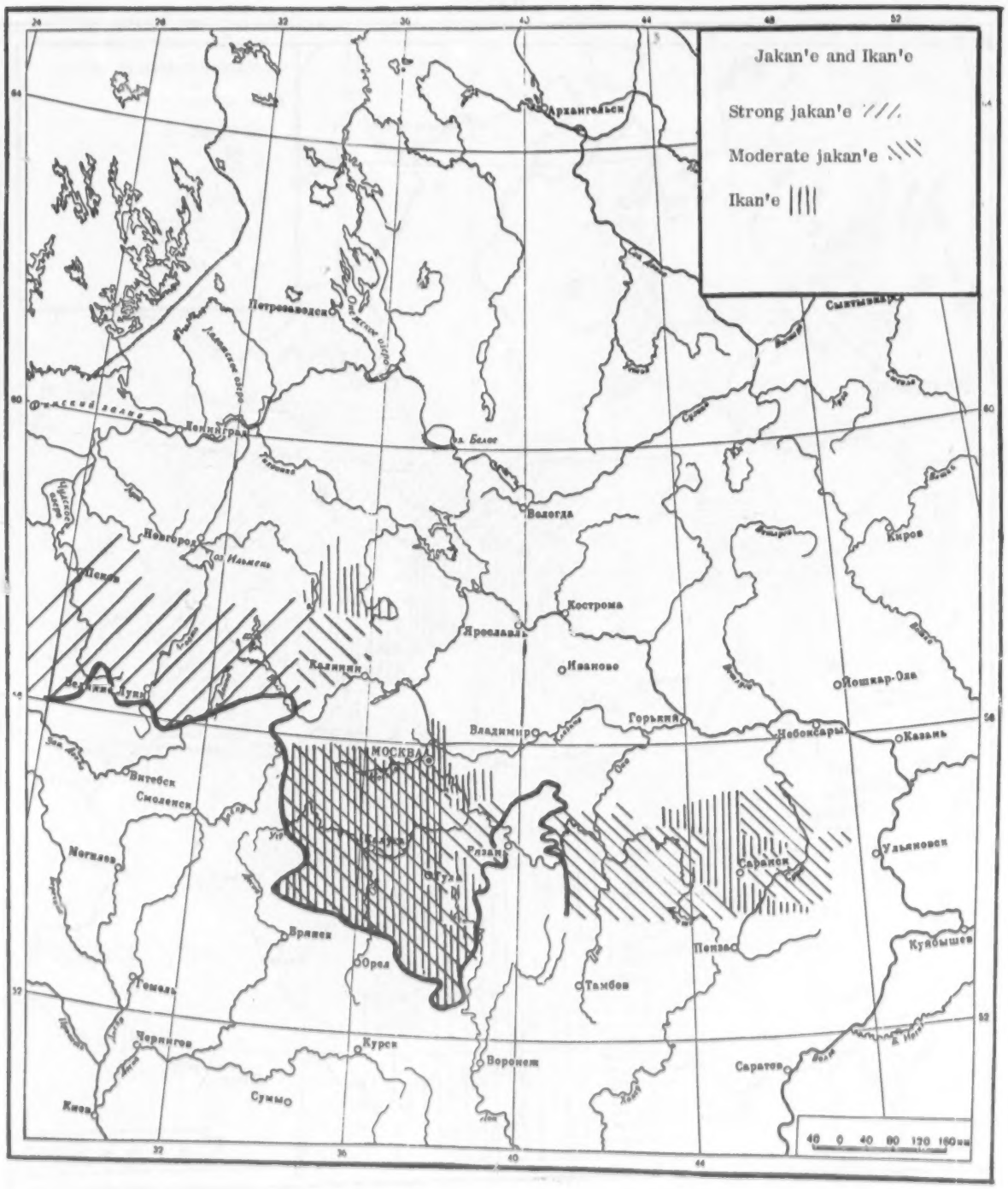
MAP 1


Stressed Vowels
ê, ô
ê
ô
Архангельск
Петрозаводск
Вологда
Киров
Псков
Кострома
Ярославль
Иваново
Йошкар-Ола
Калинин
Великие Луки
Владимир
Горький
Набережные Челны
Казань
МОСКВА
Смоленск
Калуга
Рязань
Ульяновск
Могилев
Тула
Саранск
Брянск
Орел
Пенза
Куйбышев
Тамбов
Гомель
Чернигов
Курск
Воронеж
Саратов
Сумы
Киев
40 0 40 80 120 160 км

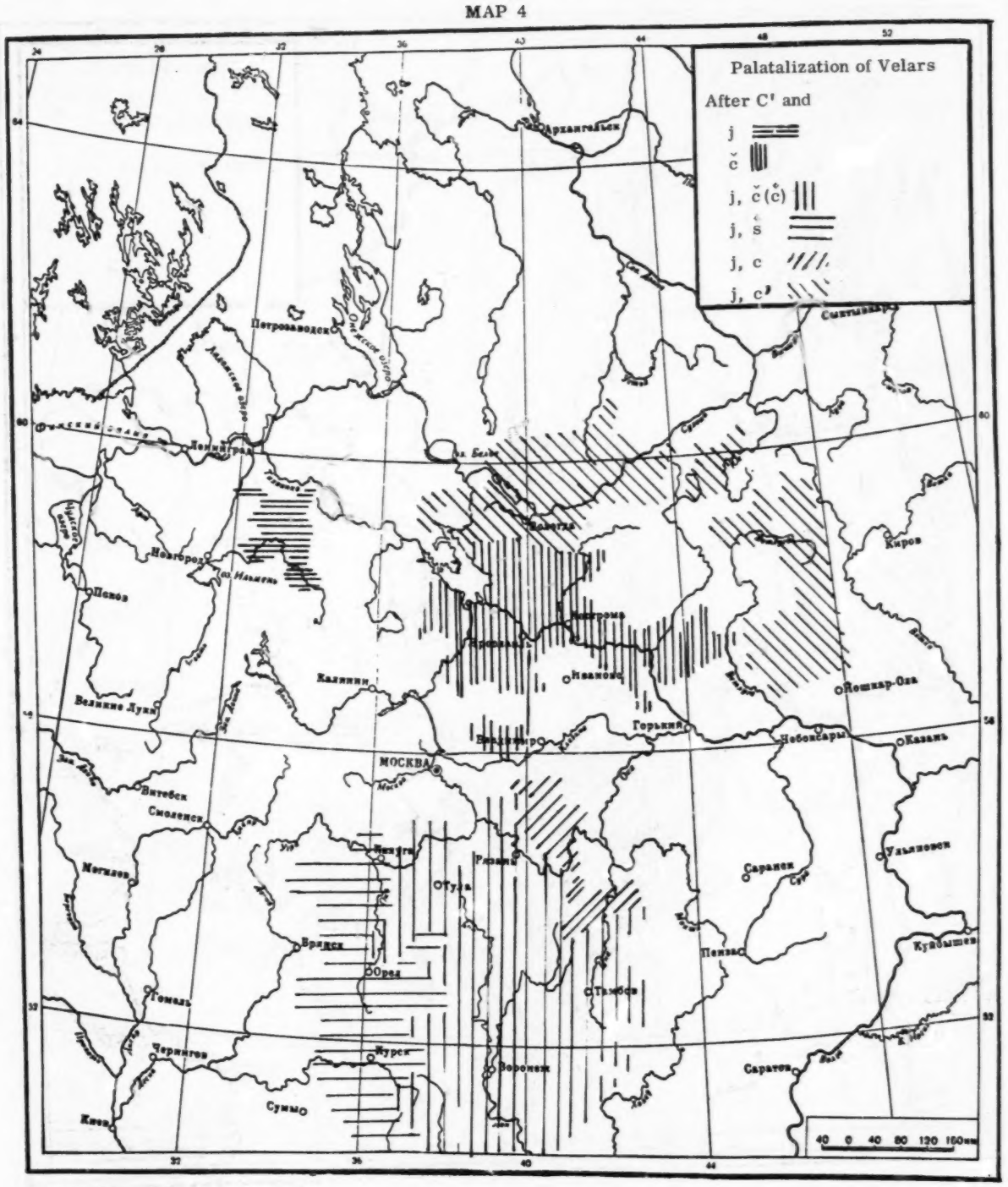
MAP 2


Okan'e and Akan'e
Okan'e
Akan'e
Partial Okan'e
Žizdra type Okan'e
Архангельск
Петрозаводск
Белое
Вологда
Киров
Кострома
Ярославль
Горький
Йошкар-Ола
Казань
Ульяновск
Пенза
Куйбышев
Тамбов
Саратов
Воронеж
Курск
Орел
Брянск
Тула
Рязань
Калуга
Тверь
Смоленск
Витебск
Могилев
Гомель
Чернигов
Киев
Сумы
МОСКВА
Ленинград
Новгород
Псков
Великие Луки
Сыктывкар
40 0 40 80 120 160км

MAP 3


Jakan'e and Ikan'e
Strong jakan'e
Moderate jakan'e
Ikan'e
Архангельск
Петрозаводск
Онежское озеро
Ладожское озеро
Финский залив
Ленинград
оз. Белое
Новгород
оз. Ильмень
Псков
Волхов
Луга
Калинин
Вологда
Кострома
Ярославль
Иваново
Йошкар-Ола
Горький
Владимир
Чебоксары
Казань
МОСКВА
Витебск
Смоленск
Могилев
Брянск
Орел
Рязань
Тула
Сараны
Ульяновск
Пенза
Куйбышев
Тамбов
Гомель
Чернигов
Курск
Воронеж
Саратов
Сумы
Киев
Сыктывкар
Киров
40 0 40 80 120 160 км

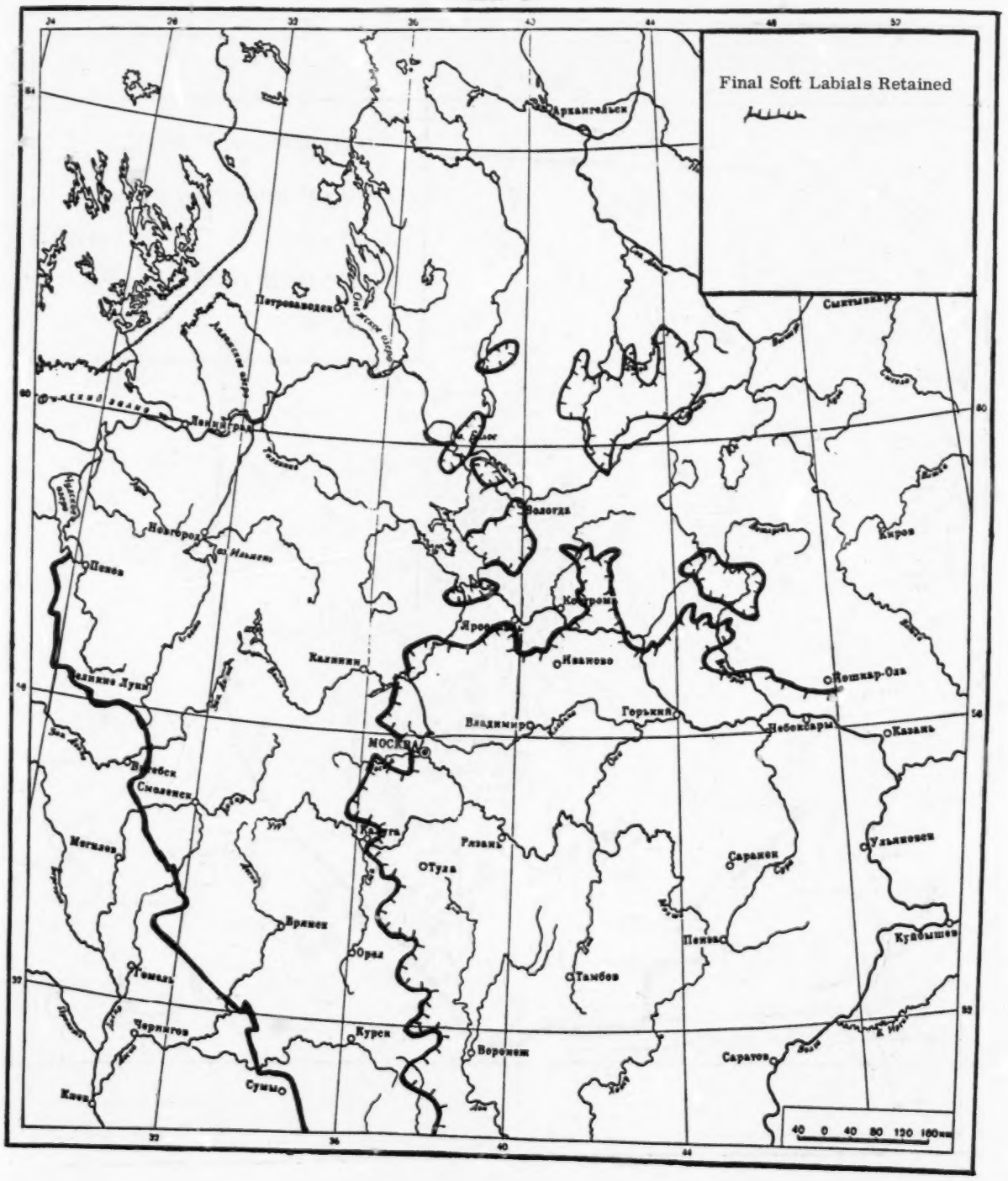
MAP 4


Palatalization of Velars
After C' and
j
č
j, č (č)
j, š
j, c
j, c'
Архангельск
Петрозаводск
Онежское озеро
Ленинград
Вологда
Новгород
Псков
Киров
Калинин
Иваново
Йошкар-Ола
Горький
Чебоксары
Казань
МОСКВА
Витебск
Смоленск
Ульяновск
Могилев
Орел
Пенза
Куйбышев
Гомель
Чернигов
Курск
Воронеж
Саратов
Сумы
Киев
40 0 40 80 120 160км

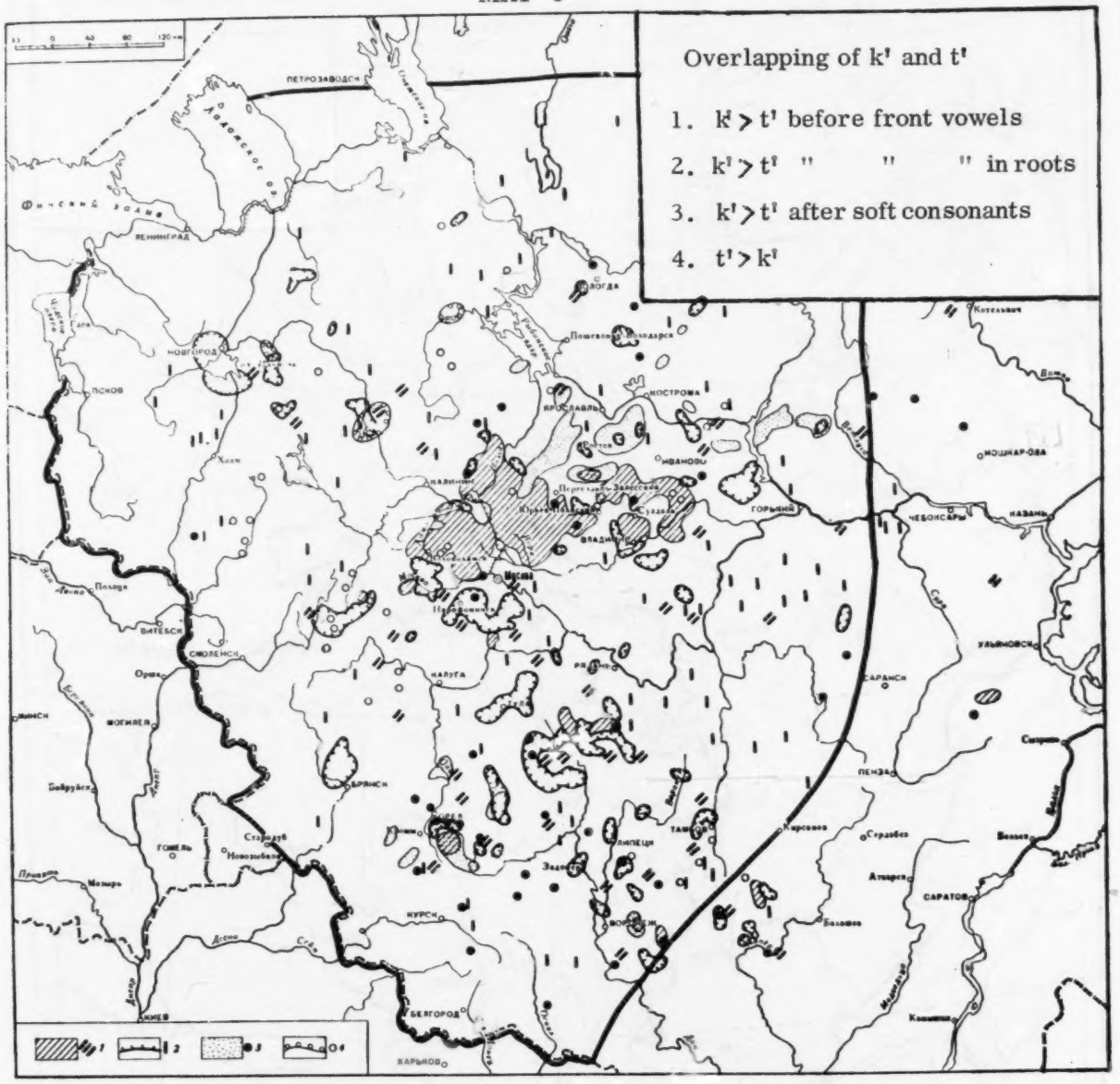
(4)

193

MAP 5


Final Soft Labials Retained
Архангельск
Петрозаводск
Сыктывкар
Вологда
Новгород
Псков
Киров
Кострома
Ярославль
Иваново
Калинин
Великие Луки
Нижний Новгород
Владимир
Горький
Йошкар-Ола
Набережные Челны
Казань
МОСКВА
Смоленск
Рязань
Саранск
Ульяновск
Могилев
Тула
Брянск
Пенза
Куйбышев
Орел
Гомель
Тамбов
Чернигов
Курск
Воронеж
Саратов
Сумы
Киев
40 0 40 80 120 160км

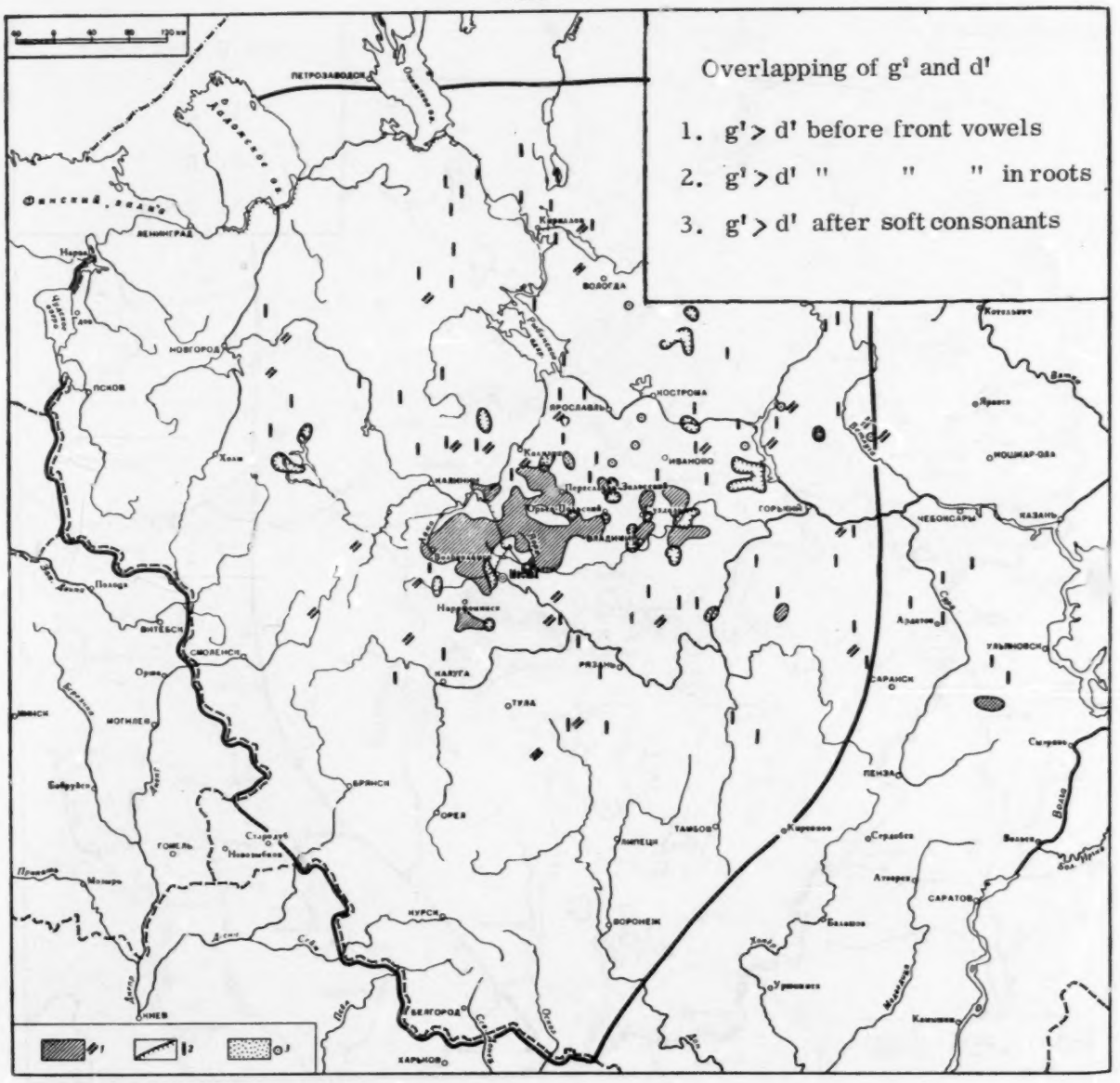
MAP 6



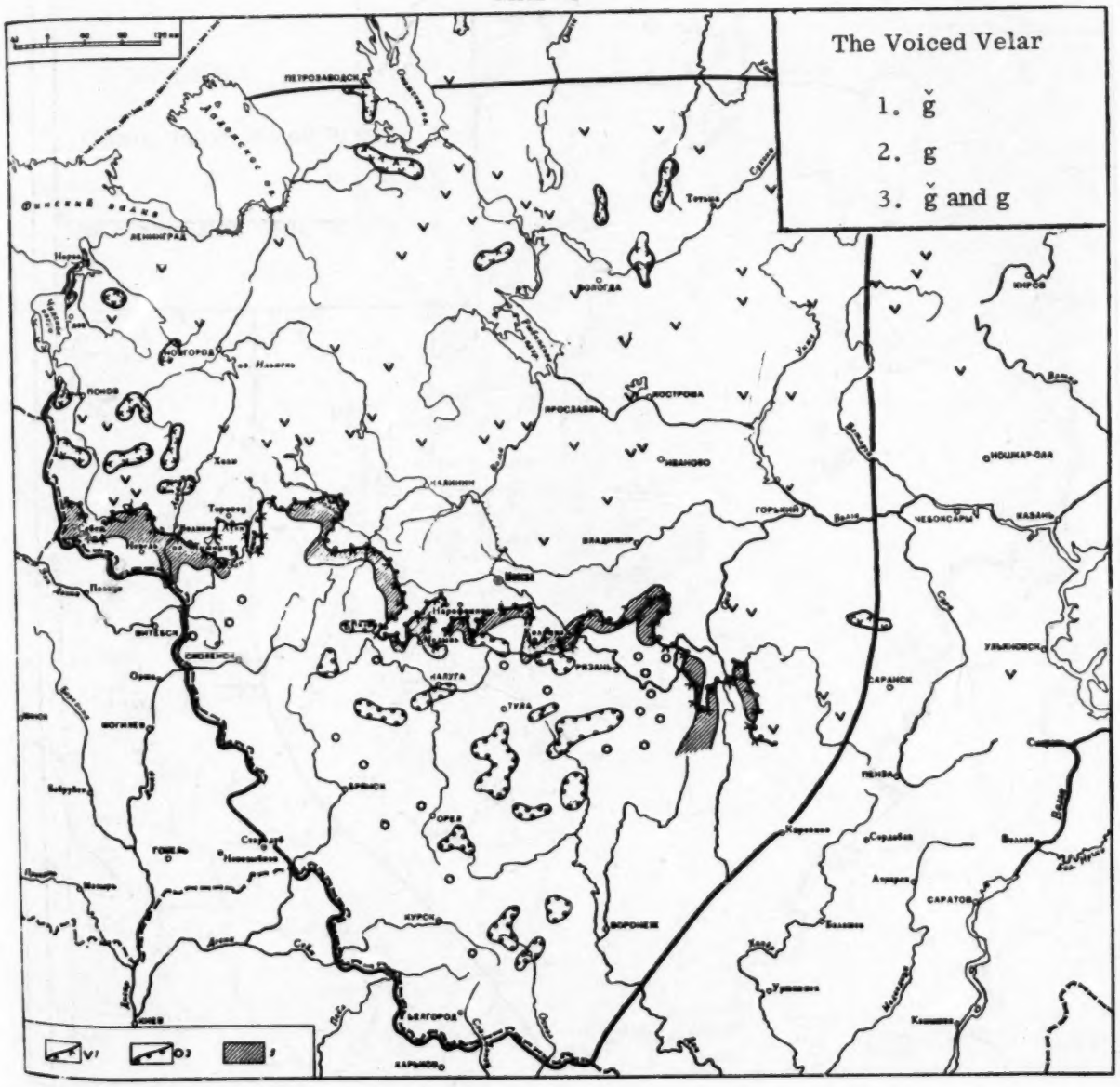
Overlapping of k' and t'

1. k' > t' before front vowels
2. k' > t' " " " in roots
3. k' > t' after soft consonants
4. t' > k'

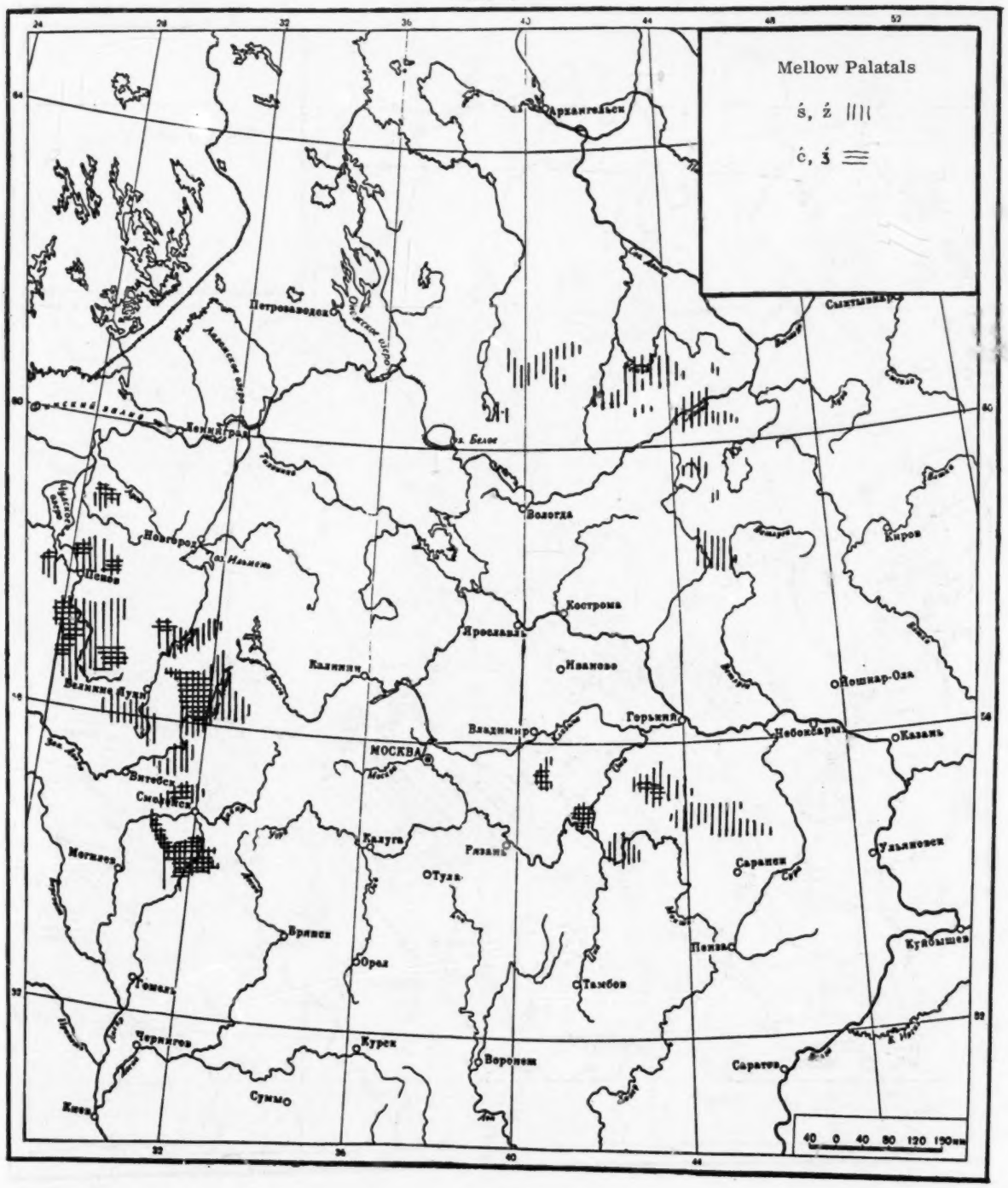
MAP 7


Overlapping of g' and d'
1. g' > d' before front vowels
2. g' > d' " " " in roots
3. g' > d' after soft consonants
ЛЕНИНГРАД
НОВГОРОД
ПСКОВ
ВОЛОГДА
ЯРОСЛАВЛЬ
ИВАНОВО
ГОРЬКИЙ
КАЗАНЬ
ЧЕБОКСАРЫ
СМОЛЕНСК
КАЛУГА
ТУЛА
РЯЗАНЬ
ОРЕЛ
БРЯНСК
ТАМБОВ
ПЕНЗА
САРАТОВ
УЛЬЯНОВСК
ВОРОНЕЖ
КУРСК
БЕЛГОРОД
ХАРЬКОВ
КИЕВ
МИНСК
МОГИЛЕВ
ВИТЕБСК
ГОМЕЛЬ
1
2
3

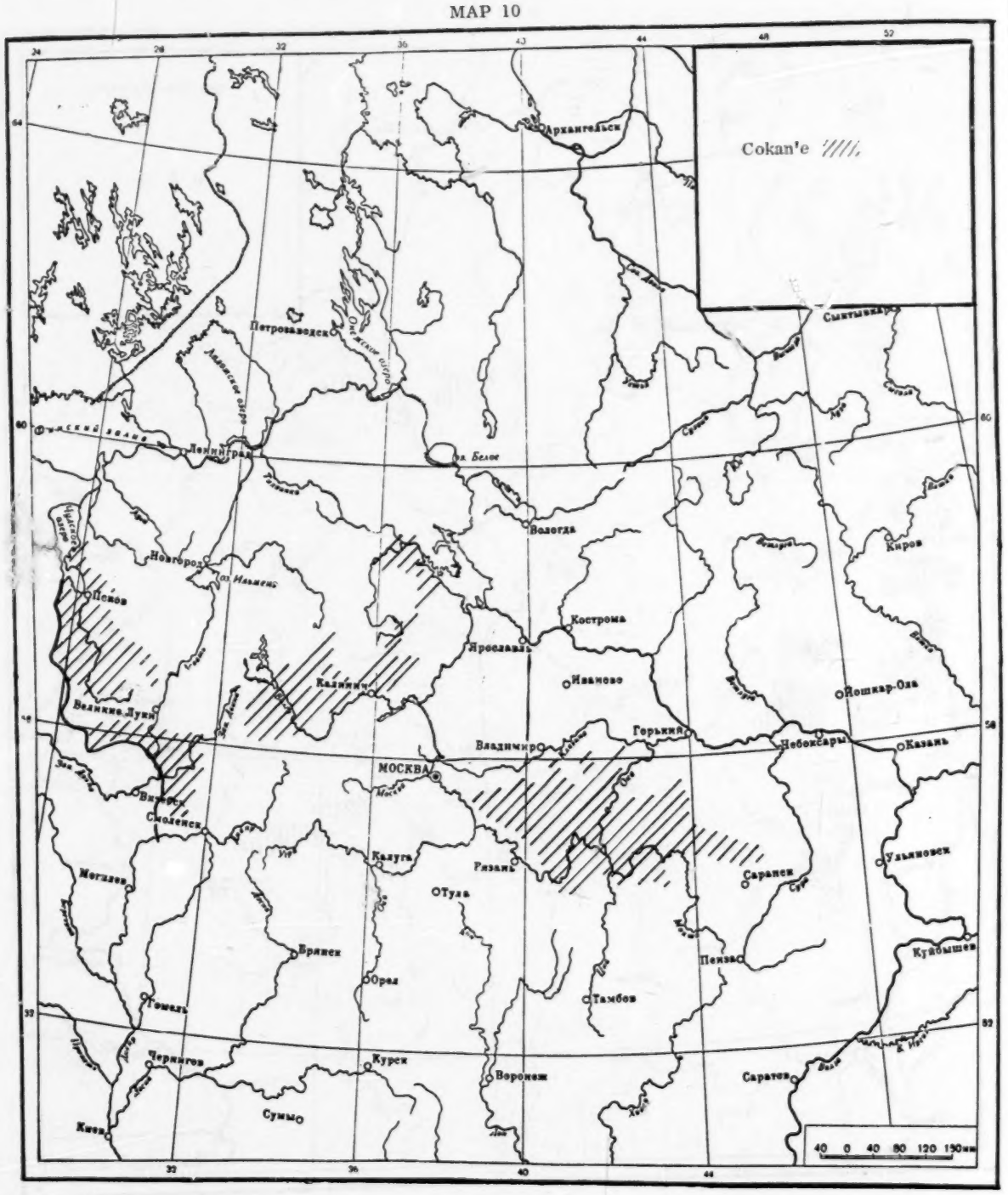
MAP 8


The Voiced Velar
1. ǧ
2. g
3. ǧ and g
ПЕТРОЗАВОДСК
ЛЕНИНГРАД
НОВГОРОД
ПСКОВ
ВОЛОГДА
ЯРОСЛАВЛЬ
КОСТРОМА
ИВАНОВО
ГОРЬКИЙ
ЧЕБОКСАРЫ
КАЗАНЬ
НОШМАР-ОВА
ВЛАДИМИР
ВЯЗЬМА
СМОЛЕНСК
КАЛУГА
ТУЛА
РЯЗАНЬ
САРАНСК
УЛЬЯНОВСК
ПЕНЗА
ОРЕЛ
БРЯНСК
ГОМЕЛЬ
КУРСК
ВОРОНЕЖ
САРАТОВ
БЕЛГОРОД
КИЕВ
ХАРЬКОВ

MAP 9


Mellow Palatals
ś, ź
ć, ś
Архангельск
Петрозаводск
Онежское озеро
Ладожское озеро
Ленинград
оз. Белое
Вологда
Новгород
оз. Ильмень
Псков
Великие Луки
Кострома
Ярославль
Иваново
Калинин
Йошкар-Ола
Горький
Владимир
Набережные Челны
Казань
МОСКВА
Витебск
Смоленск
Калуга
Рязань
Ульяновск
Саранск
Могилев
Тула
Брянск
Орел
Пенза
Куйбышев
Тамбов
Гомель
Чернигов
Курск
Воронеж
Саратов
Сумы
Киев
Кировск
40 0 40 80 120 160км

MAP 10


Архангельск
Сыктывкар
Петрозаводск
Ленинград
Вологда
Киров
Новгород
Псков
Кострома
Ярославль
Иваново
Йошкар-Ола
Калинин
Горький
Чебоксары
Казань
Владимир
МОСКВА
Смоленск
Калуга
Рязань
Саранск
Ульяновск
Тула
Брянск
Пенза
Куйбышев
Орел
Тамбов
Гомель
Курск
Воронеж
Саратов
Чернигов
Сумы
Киев
Сокол'е
40 0 40 80 120 160км